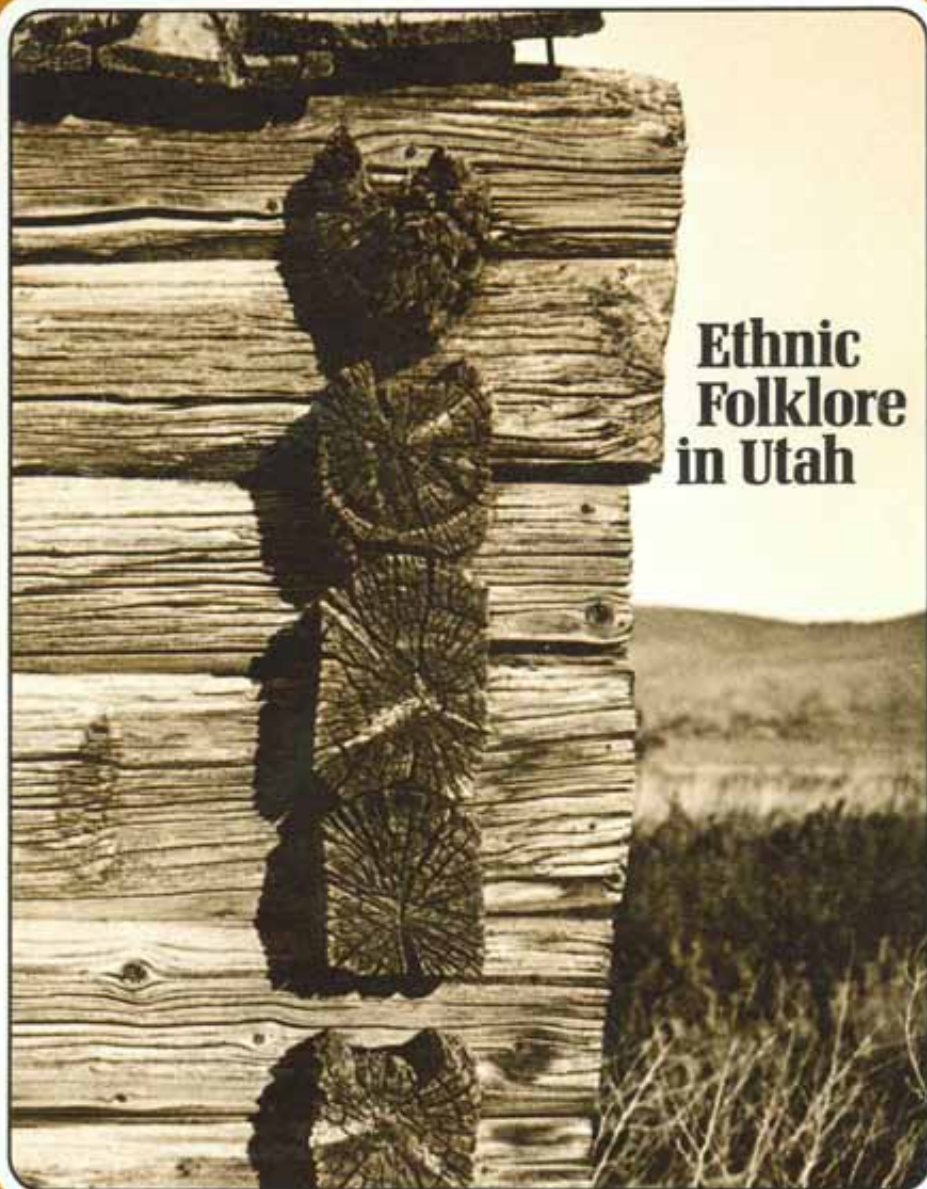




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**Ethnic
Folklore
in Utah**

UTAH HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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Ethnic Folklore in Utah: New Perspectives

BY MARGARET K. BRADY
GUEST EDITOR

FOR YEARS HISTORIANS AND SOCIAL SCIENTISTS have been interested in documenting the process by which immigrant groups become "transplanted" and "assimilated" into mainstream American culture; at the same time, many of these researchers have also been concerned with the ways in which immigrant groups "pass on" a sense of ethnicity to their descendants. In doing so, they have looked to folklore to provide indices both to degree of assimilation and to degree of preserved ethnicity, for it is the expressive culture of such groups that has provided the clearest indication of just how much of the traditional old country way of life has been and is being maintained. During the past two decades, however, folklorists and historians alike have begun to examine the rich expressive dimensions of ethnicity in new and exciting ways; no longer are folk traditions employed simply as "ethnicity indicators" on a kind of assimilation thermometer. In this introduction I want to examine this shift in analytic perspective and at the same time relate it to the fine work now being done on the folklore of ethnic groups in Utah.

For even though non-Utahns may perceive of the state as one uncomplicated, homogeneous mass, it becomes clear to any who take more than a cursory glance that Utah is far more interesting and ethnically diverse than they might ever expect. From the earliest settlers, the forefathers of the Ute, Paiute, Navajo, Shoshone, and Gosiute, to the most recently arrived Hmong and Tongan families, Utah has had a rich history of ethnic diversity. That ethnic history has been so rich, in fact, that even to survey briefly the folklore of each of the ethnic groups who have played and continue to play a part lies far beyond the scope of this volume.¹ Research on ethnic

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¹ For a fine survey of the history of various ethnic groups in Utah, see Helen Z. Papanikolas, ed., *The Peoples of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1976). Mrs. Papanikolas also originated the idea for the present special issue of the *Quarterly* on ethnic folklore and solicited articles for it. The author also acknowledges the editorial assistance and sense of direction provided by Tom Carter.

folklore in Utah is currently being conducted by the staff of the Utah Folklife Center and by individual members of the Utah Folklore Society. Here, we present articles representative of the depth and intensity of ethnic concerns, traditions, and values; these articles also point to the necessity of examining the expressive forms of ethnic groups in Utah (the folk houses, the rituals, the jokes, the stories and songs) in new ways that will illuminate not only their resemblance to older, more traditional forms, but also their dynamic, innovative status as entirely new expressions of ethnic identity.

As I have suggested above, the first folklorists interested in questions of ethnicity and its expression in cultural forms concentrated their efforts on examining "survivals," those folklore forms that managed to survive the process of immigration.² Richard Dorson, one of the first folklorists to deal seriously with ethnic groups in America, suggested in 1959 the kinds of questions that in a sense directed the study of ethnic folklore for at least a decade:

What happens to the inherited traditions of European and Asiatic folk after they settle in the United States and learn a new language and new ways? How much of the old lore is retained and transmitted to their children? What parts are sloughed off, what intrusions appear, what accommodation is made between Old Country beliefs and the American physical scene? These are the large questions that confront the assessor of immigrant folk traditions.³

Today these same questions are both relevant and compelling. In this volume William González's and Genaro Padilla's article on the folklore of Hispanics in Monticello is a fine example of the range of insights available from a study of this kind. Here the authors effectively demonstrate both the conservative and the dynamic elements in the traditional rituals of the Hispanic community in southeastern Utah. They carefully point out which aspects of the life-cycle rituals have changed over time, and they indicate as well some of the significant reasons for these changes. The data immerse the reader in the traditional practices of turn-of-the-century Monticello and then lead to an understanding of the variety of forces that came into play as many of those traditions were gradually changed. The authors also explore the reasons underlying the continuation and enhancement of other traditional forms.

²Stephen Stern's article, "Ethnic Folklore and the Folklore of Ethnicity," *Western Folklore* 37 (1977): 7-32, provides an excellent discussion of the history of ethnic folklore scholarship; I have drawn on his observations throughout this discussion.

³Richard M. Dorson, *American Folklore* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), pp. 135-36.

In a similar manner, Helen Papanikolas's article examines the funeral customs of Utah Greeks from the earliest days to the present. This historical perspective moves back and forth between Greece and Utah to demonstrate the cultural, social, economic, and religious forces that contributed to alterations in the death rituals of Greek immigrants. One of the most intriguing aspects of this study is the interrelationship between funeral rites and baptismal and marriage rituals; it presents a clear example of the ways in which the entire life-cycle process is reflected upon in each of the major social and religious rituals throughout an individual's life. In these Greek rituals the interconnection of symbolic forms (such as the wedding crown which is also worn at funerals) continually affirms the fragility of life and the inevitability of death. Papanikolas's analysis urges us to ask not only how these rituals have changed over time as they are practiced on Utah soil but also what symbolic implications these changes hold for the community and how the symbolic systems of the community sensitively respond to non-Greek cultural and social forces.

Both of these articles on Hispanic and Greek folk rituals implicitly suggest the notion of cultural pluralism. This concept is gradually replacing the idea of acculturation that had been used for so long to explain the process by which immigrant groups become "Americanized." Theories of acculturation imply a one-for-one system of replacement of cultural forms, whereby each Greek or Hispanic or Italian symbol, for example, is gradually replaced by an Anglo-American one. So although these theories attempt to describe the dynamics of culture change, inevitably they view these processes of replacement as intrusions that disturb the equilibrium of the traditional culture of the immigrants.⁴ The notion of cultural pluralism, on the other hand, proposes that culture contact and culture change be viewed in terms of cultural heterogeneity and the increased availability of a wide range of cultural resources. Cultural pluralism emphasizes the fluidity and dynamism that often characterize the complex reality of multi-ethnic systems.

It is this complex reality that Thomas Carter describes in his article on folk housing in the Sanpete-Sevier valleys of central Utah. His analysis dramatically demonstrates the importance of understanding that a culture that may appear so homogeneous may in fact

⁴Pierre L. Van den Berghe, "Pluralism," in John J. Honigman, ed., *Handbook of Social and Cultural Anthropology* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1973), p. 962.

be much more complex and ethnically diverse. Carter uses the notion of cultural pluralism to describe such ethnic diversity and to suggest that Norwegians in central Utah, for example, drew on a variety of cultural resources as they made their homes in this new land. While they may have practiced the Mormon religion, eaten American food, and participated in community activities unknown to them in Norway, some at least continued to build houses just as they had done in the old country. In this way the Norwegian data clearly undermine any a priori assumptions about the homogeneity of Mormon Utah; at the same time, they open up exciting avenues for future research. Above all, this analysis articulates most clearly the need to avoid oversimplification and overgeneralization when we discuss topics as complicated as ethnicity. Each individual member of any ethnic group experiences a unique piecing together of cultural values and traditional expressive forms through which he meaningfully displays his own ethnic identification. The entire process of establishing ethnic identity both for individuals and for groups is central to our concerns here.

Fredrik Barth's influential work, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, examines the ways individuals and groups continually create and re-create the boundaries that separate them from each other through this process of ethnic identification.⁵ Not only do ethnic groups focus on the definition and elaboration of the characteristics that identify them as groups, but they also continually seek ways to differentiate themselves from others. In fact this boundary-making activity is not unique to ethnic groups but applies to any kind of human group that sees itself as somehow different from others. One of the major means groups use to recognize and maintain these social boundaries is stereotyping.

Folklorist Roger Abrahams has suggested that there are actually two processes of stereotyping that operate side by side.⁶ What he calls the "deepest" type of stereotyping is a cultural universal that involves casting one's own group as human beings and others as either animals or machines or both. This process usually characterizes others as dirty, lazy, immoral, sexually out-of-control, and having strange eating and drinking habits. It also employs the im-

⁵ Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969).

⁶ Roger D. Abrahams, "Folklore in the Definition of Ethnicity: An American and Jewish Perspective," in Frank Talmage, ed., *Studies in Jewish Folklore* (Cambridge, Mass.: Association for Jewish Studies, 1977), p. 18.

plicit argument that "we are different, we aren't like that at all." The other kind of stereotyping involves a kind of distinction-making, on the basis of surface traits, that recognizes genuine cultural differences but interprets them incorrectly. Abrahams points out, for example, that Jews have often been observed to be "good family people," but that stereotyping converts this observation to the attribution of exclusivity and aloofness to Jews.⁷ And while much of this stereotyping behavior goes on all the time, such boundary-making reaches a zenith whenever groups are thrust into the kind of proximity that creates more intense social tension.

Patricia Albers's and William James's article on the way the popular photography of early picture post cards portrays Utah Indians analyzes this process of stereotyping in a visual realm. The authors examine both the "noble savage" and "wild beast" stereotypes of Indians as they are played out on the fronts of Utah post cards; in addition, they point out the symbolic importance of the manipulation of the attitudes of the American public by such cards. The significance of this analysis is far-reaching, for it demonstrates so clearly the incredible power of stereotyping behavior, which here is enacted not in the folk cultural domain of ethnic jokes and stories but in the sphere of popular culture where marketability rules. The distributors of such post cards were actually selling stereotyped Indians — and more often than not to an eager, willing public. This kind of historical perspective on stereotyping is tremendously valuable, since it provides a kind of distancing that allows us to recognize more easily the real subtleties involved.

Each of the articles presented here points toward exciting new directions for the study of ethnic folklore in Utah. For example, the entire stereotyping process within any culture or subculture is so complex that it presents almost infinite possibilities for future research. In Utah we need to look at not only how various groups have been stereotyped but also how those groups perceive and act upon that stereotypical identity. And while the concept of cultural pluralism presented in this volume offers new insights into the whole process of two (or more) cultures coming into contact, future research in ethnic folklore needs to go even further in examining both traditional expressive forms and new forms, created in Utah, which nonetheless express a true sense of ethnic identity. These new-

⁷ Ibid., p. 19.

found ways of expressing ethnicity are no less real and no less worthy of study, for above all they continue to remind us that creativity, innovation, and spontaneity work side by side with the conservative forces of tradition to create and re-create a truly meaningful sense of what it means for any individual to be Greek or Ute or Hispanic or Norwegian in Utah.

Monticello, the Hispanic Cultural Gateway to Utah

BY WILLIAM H. GONZÁLEZ AND GENARO M. PADILLA



Monticello, ca. 1942. Photographs not credited otherwise are courtesy of Msgr. Jerome Stoffel.

THE FIRST HISPANICS TO ARRIVE in San Juan County were the men who came from northern New Mexico during the last decades of the nineteenth century to tend sheep owned by the Mormon settlers of the Bluff area. Since the latter had a somewhat limited knowledge of the sheep industry, men who were familiar with this type of livestock were needed; and the Hispanic New Mexican, who carried unbroken the sheep-raising tradition brought from Spain and introduced into New Mexico as early as 1598,¹ was the one to fill that need.

Dr. González is assistant professor of languages and Dr. Padilla assistant professor of English at the University of Utah. They wish to acknowledge the cooperation of the Chicano Studies Program at the University of Utah in the preparation of this paper.

¹In 1598 Juan de Oñate led an expedition of some two hundred Spaniards to settle an area of the New World located somewhere near where Santa Fe, New Mexico, stands. Along with wagonloads of the equipment required to establish a permanent settlement, Oñate also brought some six thousand head of livestock, of which nearly four thousand were sheep and rams. For a more detailed catalogue of the supplies Oñate took to New Mexico, see Julian Nava, *The Mexican American in American History* (New York: American Book Co., 1973), p. 30.

These men came on horseback from various New Mexico villages, a trip that took them about a week to make. They would usually work for eight or ten months at a time and then return home to spend a few months with their families. As some men returned to their villages to spend the winter, others would take their place, thus establishing a continuous flow of men over the two-hundred mile or so stretch of land. In time, a few of those who had traveled back and forth decided that they would stay to make their home and their future in a new territory.²

In this way, as an example, one such man, Ramón González, brought his wife, Guadalupe, a daughter, Romana, eighteen, and his sixteen-year-old son, Prudencio, to Monticello in March of 1900 to settle permanently. The González family set out from Dixon, New Mexico, by way of Colorado's San Luis Valley in 1899 in an old wagon, bringing their belongings and the few head of livestock they owned. As they made their way through Durango, Ramón discovered that there was a serious drought in Monticello that season, and so he decided to remain through the winter in Durango where he could work for the railroad. The family finally arrived in Monticello the following March and, shortly thereafter, homesteaded a piece of land in the Indian Creek vicinity. González was one of the first Hispanos to homestead in Utah. As though to signal his resolve to remain, his name appeared not only in the county records but also scratched onto Newspaper Rock, which was located on the homestead itself.

Unfortunately, Ramón died in 1902 before he really had much of a chance to work the land he had traveled so far to claim. Because he was a Catholic in a predominantly Mormon community, the town's LDS bishop told the family that Ramón could be buried in a section of the cemetery set aside for non-Mormons. Ramón remains in the original Monticello cemetery alongside other Hispanics who were separated from the Anglo community in death as they often were in life.³

Shortly after the arrival of the first Hispanic families into Monticello, the migration of people from various New Mexico villages — Abiquiu, Gallina, Coyote, Canjilón — increased considerably. Many

²Vicente V. Mayer, Jr., ed., *Utah: A Hispanic History* (Salt Lake City: American West Center, University of Utah, 1975), pp. 37, 39.

³Ramón González was the co-author's grandfather. The story of his trek to Utah, his homesteading, and the episode with the Mormon bishop upon his death is a matter of family history.

of these families settled the different areas around Monticello — Spring Creek, Carlisle, and La Vega. Yet, even though many Hispanics came to Utah to stay, their cultural roots remained fixed in New Mexico. Largely because of their traditionally close family ties, the new settlers maintained constant contact with their home towns and their relatives. In this manner, there was a continual renewal of cultural traditions in all of their aspects. And, in like manner, this constant interflow led new settlers — brothers, uncles, and friends — into Utah where there was promise of jobs and land. By 1920 the Hispanic population was substantial enough to have created several distinct neighborhoods in and around Monticello. These newcomers occupied themselves by working their homesteads while also hiring themselves out as cowboys and shearers on surrounding ranches in San Juan County.⁴

Because of this early presence of Hispanics in Monticello, the town became a gateway for the entrance of hundreds more Hispanics into Utah. As people crossed the border into the state they found that their predecessors in Monticello welcomed them not only with warm greetings but with warm greetings in their native tongue. Surprisingly, what many Hispanics discovered was that they could leave villages where they never had to use English, move to Monticello, and live there without having to learn the new language. In fact, many of the early settlers never bothered to learn English at all, and they were perfectly at home living well into the second half of this century remaining essentially monolingual.

By the late-twenties the migration of Hispanics into the area had dwindled, due both to lack of jobs and the scarcity of land open to homesteading. There was little change in the town until the early 1940s with the outbreak of World War II. With the exodus of young Hispanics into the armed forces and the attraction of well-paying war-related jobs, people began leaving their homes for the coal mines in Carbon County, the copper mines in Bingham, the military-industrial plants in the Salt Lake Valley, and the railroad shops of Ogden.⁵

⁴ Focusing as it does upon the Monticello area, this paper suggests that most people inhabiting the towns in the southeastern part of the state have their roots in Hispanic New Mexico and southern Colorado. It is not our intention, however, to suggest that there was no migration into Utah by people directly from Mexico. As Mayer points out: "By 1920, there were some 2,300 people who were born in Mexico and lived in Utah. The majority of these families found work and made their home in Salt Lake City . . ." (p. 39). This Mexican population entered the state via a southwesterly route and settled mainly along the Wasatch Front.

⁵ Mayer, *Utah: A Hispanic History*, p. 61.

For a time during the early forties, a vanadium processing plant located in Monticello attracted both Hispanic construction workers and plant employees. After the war ended, however, the plant complex was shut down, and people again followed the trail further north in search of work. Since WW II the Hispanic population in Monticello has remained fairly small, only a fraction of what it once was, but there are still Gallegos, Manzanares, Vigil, González, Jaramillo, and Garcia families who are the decendents of the original settlers.* With Hispanos such as these the cultural traditions of generations have continued.

As always, it seems, when people find themselves a long way from familiar surroundings and from folks they know intimately, there is a tendency for them to strengthen those customs and traditions that define their social and cultural identity. Since the family was literally the center of life in Hispano culture, the birth of a child, the child's baptism, the relating of *cuentos* (folktales), the singing of sacred ballads, marriage customs, the observance of seasonal religious holy days, and, finally, funeral rites were maintained by families in a communal manner. The same cultural patterns held true for those early Hispano settlers in Monticello. They may have been isolated hundreds of miles from the social and cultural sources of their native villages, but they clung to those customs and traditions, largely rooted in Mexican-Spanish Catholicism, they knew as children. And they clung to those life-cycle rituals as tenaciously as they clung to the new soil.

Although it is not the purpose of this article to present an exhaustive explanation of all traditional practices, we would like, by way of introduction, to touch upon some of the basic life-cycle customs and observances of the liturgical year that have been practiced by Monticello Hispanics. Some of these customs, marriage celebrations for example, have remained vital, if slightly altered by social circumstances, while others like the baptismal presentation of a child to its parents have declined dramatically. A survey of Hispano customs, either still in common use or largely remembered, will, we hope, acquaint Utahns with a part of the Hispanic heritage of the state.

*The 1980 U.S. Census statistics show a total of 307 Spanish-speaking people in the Monticello area and 433 Spanish-speaking people in San Juan County as a whole. *1980 Census: Statistics for Utah*, State Census Data Center, June, 1981, p. 12.

BAPTISM

Soon after the arrival of a child, parents began making preparations for the baptism and the festivities that surrounded that momentous event. As it still is, the sacrament of baptism was the ritual that initiated the child into the spiritual community of the Catholic church, but it also signaled the child's initiation into the social community as well.

For early Monticello Hispanics a baptism could take place anywhere from a few days to several months after the birth of a child, depending upon the health of the child and the availability of a priest, who because of Monticello's isolation and mission parish status only periodically made pastoral visits to the area. Regardless of the date chosen for baptism, the parents were careful to select the *padrinos* (godparents) with utmost care and consideration for the future bond established between the child, the parents, and the *padrinos*. The choice of godparents was open to anyone, but it usually was and continues to be from within the immediate family that the *padrinos* are chosen. More often than not, grandparents were asked to sponsor the first child in a family; thereafter, brothers and sisters of the parents, or uncles and aunts, were honored with this responsibility. And that responsibility was a serious one. The godparents were expected to be Christian models for the child; and if the parents died, the godparents were charged with raising the child in an upright Catholic home.

On the day of the baptism the *padrinos* took the child to church or to a home where the priest was baptizing. Nowadays the parents usually accompany the *padrinos*, but years back the godparents were solely entrusted with the child on that day to symbolize their spiritual bond. During the baptism the godparents formally gave the child the name the parents had chosen. One of these was often the name of a patron saint on whose feast day the child was born; sometimes the name was that of a grandmother or grandfather and occasionally that of a special relative or friend.

One of the lyrical customs that used to be followed was the verse greeting with which the *padrinos* returned the child to its parents. Standing with the baby at the threshold of the parents' home, the *padrinos* would present the child to its parents, saying,

Aquí está esta fresca rosa que de la iglesia salió,
Con los santísimos sacramentos y la agua que recibió.
(Here is a rose so fresh which has just come from church,
With the Blessed Sacraments and the holy water it received.)

Upon accepting the child, the parents would reply,

Recíbote fresca rosa que de la iglesia salió
Con los santísimos sacramentos y la agua que recibiste.
(We receive thee, rose so fresh, newly come from church,
With the Blessed Sacraments and the holy water received.)

Once this formality was observed, the family and guests would sit down to a special meal and spend the rest of the afternoon admiring the baby, bestowing simple gifts, wishing him or her a long and joyous life, toasting each other, and enjoying each other's company. Today, although some of the specific elements of the baptismal ritual, such as the verse greeting and the naming formalities, have been abandoned, the significance of the sacramental event itself and the festive recognition of the baptism remain vital.



*Confirmation class, 1952,
at St. Joseph's Church in
Monticello.*

MARRIAGE

In a world that has changed too radically for many strict Hispanic customs to survive, many of the courtship and wedding rituals of yesterday have largely gone by the way. In Monticello, as in other Hispanic enclaves, young lovers now see each other without chaperones and usually decide on their own when and where they will be married. Still, their weddings are marked by many customs that are now hundreds of years old.

In the old days in Monticello, when a young man was interested in a girl, he first sought permission from her parents to court her in an appropriate manner. If, eventually, he wanted to marry the young woman, he would consult with his father, asking him to visit the girl's parents to ask for her hand in marriage. If the father agreed to ask his *vecino* (neighbor) for his daughter's hand, he was

required by long tradition, a tradition that went back to sixteenth-century Spain, to compose a formal letter stating his son's honorable intentions, while also extolling the girl's virtue and beauty.⁷ In more recent times, however, the future groom's mother and father simply arranged a formal visit with the girl's parents to discuss the possibility of a marriage between their children. During this visit it was customary to engage in a form of repartee in which the parents praised the physical and spiritual qualities of the respective offspring as a measure of the conditions they expected for their son or daughter. Usually more friendly than confrontive, these meetings gave the parents a chance to reminisce about their *hijo's* and *hija's* childhood, with its moments of joy, near tragedy, comic happenings. Still, if there were serious concerns about the impending marriage, this was a time for all concerned to discuss and reconcile them or to state reasons for opposing the union.

If at the end of such discussion the marriage was agreed upon, a date was set and the parents decided who should be asked to sponsor the young couple at the wedding. Usually an older couple, perhaps an uncle and an aunt who had been married for years, were asked, since it was believed that with their long marital experience they could best advise the couple in times of uncertainty or crisis. Here again, as with baptism, a strong relationship, a lifelong bond, was established between the parents of the couple and the sponsors as well as between the newlyweds and their *padrino* and *madrina* — as the sponsors were called to signify their spiritual tie.

Marriages in Monticello are performed in St. Joseph's Church, but before the church was built in 1935 marriages were celebrated in private homes. If there happened not to be a priest in Monticello, the wedding party traveled to one of the neighboring Colorado towns—Cortez or Durango—to be married. As was usually the case, however, when the wedding was performed in Monticello, after the ceremony there was a formal wedding procession to the home of the

⁷ In a master's thesis written in 1949 Salvador Pérez describes the tradition of the formal letter pleading for the hand in a girl in marriage:

If a boy likes a girl and desires to make her his wife, he tells his troubles to his father, who thereupon writes a very businesslike letter to the father of the young lady, asking the hand of his daughter in marriage for his son. When the parents of the boy go to the house of the parents of the girl, they carry the letter proposing the marriage of the girl with their son. The answer is given in another letter by the parents of the girl accepting or rejecting the proposal. It is also understood that if 10 days elapse and there is no letter it means the answer is yes.

Salvador Pérez, "Folk Cycle in a New Mexico Village: Customs and Ceremonies of Birth, Marriage and Death" (Master's thesis, University of New Mexico, 1949), pp. 14-15.



St. Joseph's Church, Monticello, ca. 1943.

bride's parents where, in the company of relatives and guests, the fiesta was held. This procession was accompanied by both a violinist and a guitarist playing a simple wedding tune. It was the first communal gesture of goodwill toward and support for the young newlyweds.

Once at the home of the bride's parents, the guests were served a special dinner. Even as poor as people in Monticello might have been, they set a well-laid table of various Mexican dishes — chile, *frijoles*, *pollo* (chicken), and, when possible, lamb. For dessert, there were *bizcochitos* (anise-flavored cookies), cakes, and fruit and mince-meat pies. People sat with their families and friends, enjoying the food and drink while admiring the newlyweds.

That evening there was a wedding dance with musicians brought in from one or another of the large Colorado towns or by musicians from the surrounding Monticello area. Usually, the dances were simple *valse*s (waltzes) and polkas played on guitar, violin, and accordion. Nowadays the young couple, in step with the times, want an electric band that can play the latest rock tunes as well as *rancheras*, polkas, and waltzes. Nevertheless, even today there is usually a wedding march, an adaptation of the original march from church to the wedding hall in small villages. This march consists of a series of intricate formations, including a hand-trellis under which

the bride and groom pass to signify the community's goodwill toward the couple. There is also a special dance during which people pin dollar bills to the bride's gown and the groom's suit. Often the young couple receives enough money during this dance to pay for their honeymoon.

About halfway through the evening the dance is interrupted so that one of the musicians can sing the *entrega de novios* — the wedding song. A long sustained tradition, this *entrega* ceremony continues to mark the high point of the evening and actually climaxes all the other wedding observances. Now, as in the past, it is here that the newlyweds receive their family's and the community's blessing and testimony. At this moment the couple is reminded by the entire community that the vows they have just taken are sacred, blessed by God himself, old as the bond between Adam and Eve, and, therefore, not to be taken lightly. Always sung in Spanish, this benediction consists of *coplas* or stanzas of rhyming quatrains in which the entire wedding ceremony is described in religious and lyrical terms.

Writing in 1940, Professor Juan B. Rael, one of the great pioneers of Hispanic folklore, characterized the *entrega* content in this manner:

In the first two or three stanzas of this song, the singer generally requests the attention of the audience and sometimes apologizes for not being a more gifted singer. Then he summarizes the Bible's story of the creation of man, reminding those present of how God created man out of clay in his image and likeness and how the first woman was formed out of one of Adam's ribs. He also passes in review the marriage ceremonies before the altar. The wedding pair is then admonished regarding the sacredness of marriage and its indissolubility, and they are told of their responsibilities and their duties to each other. Even the *padrinos*, or best man and bride's maid, are reminded of their obligation, which, according to the singer consists in bestowing their blessing upon the newly wedded couple and placing the latter in the hands of the parents. The parents are then advised of the need of guiding their children in their new life.⁸

The number of stanzas in each *entrega* varies,⁹ but depending upon the singer's ability to improvise and the generosity of the

⁸Juan B. Rael, "New Mexico Wedding Songs," *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 4 (June 1940): 55. As Rael points out, the *entrega de novias* is a form unique to the Hispanos of New Mexico. Nowhere else in the Spanish-speaking world is there anything quite similar. It appears that the traditional New Mexican wedding song was adapted from sixteenth-century wedding *coplas*, but, as Rael notes, the stanza content is distinct in the New Mexico versions. The survival of the *entrega* in Utah, then, is a precise measure of the New Mexican origin of many Hispanics who are now a second or third generation removed from that state.

⁹See, once more, Rael's notes on the stanzaic structure of the *entrega*, *ibid.*, p. 56.

guests the singer-poet may continue composing stanzas celebrating the qualities of the bride and groom, the *padrinos*, the parents, and the guests themselves. At the end of each *copla* the audience tosses coins onto a blanket spread before the musicians and requests still another stanza.

One Utah version of the *entrega*, for instance, contains the following verses:

A Dios le pido permiso,
memoria y entendimiento,
para poderme expresar
en este fiel casamiento.

I ask God for permission,
memory and understanding
to be able to express myself
at this wedding full of faith.

A Dios le pido permiso,
y a este publico honrado,
para celebrar la boda
de los recientes casados.

From God I ask permission
and from this honorable gathering
to help me celebrate the wedding
of this newly married couple.

Oígame usted esposado
que le voy amonestar,
esa cruz que Dios le ha dado
no vaya a olvidar.

Listen to what I say young man
I am giving you some advice,
"The Cross which God has given you,
you must never forget."

Si deja su cruz por otra
ella pegará un suspiro
y se llegará responsable
ante un tribuno divino.

— "If you leave your Cross for another
your spouse will suffer a shock
for which you will be held responsible
before a Divine Tribunal."

Oígame usted esposada
y escuche lo que le digo,
ya no hay padre, ya no hay
madre
ya lo que hay es marido.

Listen to me young lady
and hear what I have to say,
"There is no longer father or mother
now there is only your husband."¹⁰

With the termination of the singing, the newlyweds kneel on the floor before their parents, grandparents, and even their godparents to receive a formal blessing which symbolizes their acceptance as *una nueva familia*, a new family, by their parents and the entire community. The *entrega* and the final parental blessing signal the end of the

¹⁰This version of the *entrega* is transcribed from a recording of José Pacheco and his wife, Sophie, performing the wedding song in 1981 in Salt Lake City. See Appendix for complete version.

Mr. Pacheco was born in Vallecitos, New Mexico, but moved to Antonito, Colorado, at an early age. He came to Bingham, Utah, in 1923 to work in the mines and eventually settled in Salt Lake City with his wife, who was born and raised in Conejos, Colorado. Mr. Pacheco says that they visited northern New Mexico and southern Colorado frequently, bringing back with them the musical customs of that region. There were many Hispanos from the region who worked in the mines as well, and it was for them, the Pachecos relate, that they began to play their music and sing the traditional songs at weddings. Mr. Pacheco informs us that he and his wife have been singing the *entrega* at weddings for almost fifty years. They still play a variety of instruments, including the guitar, mandolin, accordion, and harmonica, as accompaniment for the songs they have long committed to memory.

wedding ceremony; both rites serve as lingering reminders for the newlyweds that they are only beginning a long and sacred life together. In parts of Utah the *entrega* remains an integral part of the wedding celebration, emphasizing not only the present joy of the marriage but also the difficulties and sacrifices of the years ahead.

FUNERAL RITES

In Monticello religious devotions before and after the death of a family member were always observed with great solemnity. When someone was gravely ill, it was customary for relatives and neighbors to visit the home of that person to comfort the family and to pray the rosary. Again, when a priest was available, the person was administered the sacraments of the Catholic church — Confession, Holy Communion, and Extreme Unction, the anointing of the sick.

When someone died, one of the younger members of the family was formally dispatched to visit the homes of all relatives and neighbors to announce the death, even though the church bells rang the death knell. The entire Hispanic community would gather in the home of the deceased to pray over the body, to comfort the family by offering *pésames* or condolences, and to spend the night reciting the rosary and singing *alabados* or hymns. The rosary was usually led by one of the older men of the town who would pray in lilting Spanish while the people responded in chorus. After the rosary, a group of men took seats near the coffin and began chanting *alabados*, a ritual that often lasted through the entire night.

The chanting of *alabados* was the most solemn and traditional part of the *velorio de difunto* or wake. The *alabado* itself is a holdover of the medieval ballad form that originated in Spain hundreds of years ago and was brought over to what is now the Southwest by Spanish settlers in the early seventeenth century. In fact, recent studies have concluded that many of these ballad forms, which long ago disappeared in Spain and Mexico, exist only in Hispanic communities in New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah.¹¹

There are many types of *alabados* for different occasions. The *alabados* for funerals typically praise the soul of the departed before God, Jesus Christ, the Blessed Mother, and a host of saints. The deep profession of faith on the part of the deceased's friends, it was believed, would help build a spiritual bridge over which the depart-

¹¹For a summary description of the *alabado* see "El Alabado de Nuevo Mexico," *Kentucky Quarterly Romance* 29, no. 1, (1982) by co-author William H. González.

ing soul could make its way to its Beloved. One such *alabado*, of which we here include a fragment from Prudencio González's hand-copied prayer booklet,¹² is a chant commending the soul of a friend to God:

La encomendación del alma
no la dejes de pedir,
encomiéndale a Dios
y Dios la ha de recibir.

¡Oh divino Redentor,
Hijo del eterno Padre,
a Tí te encomiendo esta alma
que la cuides y la salves!

¡Oh Madre mía amorosa
yo te ruego Madre amada
que vaya esta alma al Cielo
de ángeles acompañada!

The commendation of the soul
Never forget to plead,
Recommend it to God
And He will surely receive it.

Oh Divine Redeemer
Son of the Eternal Father
I recommend this soul to you
That you may guard and grant it
salvation.

Oh my beloved Blessed Mary
I pray dearest Mother
That this soul ascend to Heaven
In the company of angels.

Such an *alabado* personalizes the relationship between man and God, the earthly community and the heavenly host, and it also has the effect of removing the sting of death. After all, the soul is winging its way toward Paradise.

¹²The co-author's father, Prudencio González, like many other individuals, kept a personal hymn and prayer booklet which contained numerous *alabados*. The co-author is currently at work on a project transcribing *alabados* from recorded collections and collating these and copied variants for a collection of Hispanic *alabados* of Utah.



Prudencio González, ca. 1943, standing, kept a personal hymn and prayer booklet (inset) containing many *alabados*. The boys on horseback are two of his

On the day of the funeral the casket was carried on the shoulders of the men from the house to the church. After the Requiem Mass the coffin was taken to the *campo santo* or cemetery either by horse-drawn wagon or, in more recent times, by car. Once the rites were completed and the casket had been lowered into the ground, each member of the family, beginning with the eldest, would drop a handful of dirt on the coffin. This ritual symbolized the acceptance of God's will in death, but it was also a reminder to every member of the community that they shared a common fate with the deceased, that they also would sooner or later return to dust.

After the burial it was customary for the family of the deceased to go into a period of mourning for at least a year. This meant that there would be no music in the house, no one would attend dances, and, of course, women dressed in black. Moreover, the family and friends would offer masses, novenas, and daily prayer for the soul of the departed.

In more recent years the solemnity and religious aura that surrounded the death of a loved one has declined, even if the pain of loss has not. Since the *velorio* (wake) has left the house, where the body of the deceased was prayed over and accompanied through the night by neighbors chanting *alabados*, the funeral rites have become much more brief, even businesslike. That is to say that with the removal of the wake to mortuaries, the *alabados* that were once chanted into the first light of the day are seldom sung and have fallen into almost complete disuse. Since the *alabado* and other religious rites that served as constant reminders of the continuing spiritual tie between the living and the dead have sharply declined, so too has the period of mourning. The rites immediate to death have maintained their traditional intensity, with family closely gathered and friends providing material and spiritual comfort, but people now return to their normal activities sooner.

LITURGICAL OBSERVANCES

Christmas, New Year's, Holy Week, Easter, and special patron saint feast days also played a central part in the life of the Hispano in Monticello. Among these, perhaps the most intense and solemn time of the year was *la cuaresma* or Lent — the annual season of spiritual self-examination and penance which begins on Ash Wednesday and continues for forty days to Easter.

In Monticello the Lenten period was characterized by commitment to severe personal sacrifice on the part of each family member. Dancing, for example, was absolutely forbidden. Radios were disconnected. The movie house was shunned. Moreover, to show their devotion to Christ, who had fasted for forty days and forty nights in the wilderness, many Hispanos in Monticello also observed strict fasting during Lent. Nothing but coffee was taken in the morning, perhaps only a piece of tortilla was eaten at noon, and dinner was very meager.

After the evening meal families would retire to a candle-lit room where, kneeling before the crucifix, the father would lead them in the recitation of the rosary. Family devotions would often continue in this manner for hours, with the mother offering special prayers and the father singing *alabados*. In fact, it was during the Lenten season that parents took it upon themselves to give catechismal instruction to their children. And it was in this manner that some of the *alabados* were orally passed on to another generation as they had been since the early fourteenth century. Most of the *alabados* were chanted by memory, giving rise to different versions and variants; others were fixed in carefully penned *cuadernos* or personal prayer books.

The singing of *alabados* and the observance of other devotions, such as daily attendance at church and the praying of the Stations of the Cross, reached a high point during the Holy Week that immediately preceded Easter. During Holy Week many people maintained strict silence, cooked very little or not at all, stopped chopping wood, and simply stayed indoors as much as possible. The only respite from this solemnity was Palm Sunday. Children could not help but feel relief when the palm branches were distributed before mass, for it meant that Lent was almost over. Imagine, palm branches in Monticello in early spring!

Easter Sunday Mass was celebrated in St. Joseph's Church, where the community would listen joyfully to the Gospel telling them the good news that the stone had been rolled away from the sepulchre and that Christ had risen. After church the older people would usually spend a quiet day visiting each other, and, when it was warm enough, the younger people would picnic at South Creek or Soldier Spring and sing and laugh after the long period of penance.

Contrary to the celebration of Christmas as the central Christian holiday in the United States, Christ's Resurrection from the dead



Altar of St. Joseph's Church. Monticello, ca. 1943.

and his Ascension into heaven constitute the doctrinal core of Catholic faith. Hence, it is not surprising that although more solemn and self-effacing, the Easter season superseded Christmas in the minds and hearts of Monticello Hispanics, as it did for Hispanics in the Southwest generally.

Nevertheless, Christmas was a time of joy and festivity in Monticello. On Christmas Eve some people would arrange three small stacks of piñon wood in front of their homes and light them when it turned dark. As the older Hispanos explained it to the young people who gathered around these fires or *luminarias*, the Three Kings had already begun their long journey to visit the newborn child, and the *luminarias* would help them to find their way. Another explanation had it that the *luminarias* were actually to light the way for the baby Jesus, so that his small feet would find their way to earth and to his people. The fire from the *luminarias*, in either event, lit up yards, houses, and the faces of youngsters with a warm glow that signaled the coming birth of Christ. How strange this must have seemed to Mormon neighbors in Monticello who were unfamiliar with a custom that had been preserved for so many centuries.

If a priest happened to be in town, *La Misa del Gallo* or Midnight Mass was celebrated with the choir singing the joyous "Mass of the Angels" in Latin and perhaps a Spanish Christmas carol or two. But whether people celebrated Midnight Mass or simply attended church on Christmas morning, after religious observances there was always the customary special food, the most characteristic of which was the *empanada*, a turnover pie filled with meat, raisins, and nuts, or fruit *empanadas* filled with apple slices or *calabaza* (pumpkin). There were also plenty of delicious *bizcochitos* as well. And even though women made these in large batches, the children were quick to make them disappear.

On Christmas morning children rose early to open their gifts, which were few and simple since most families were poor. Then they would dress and visit neighbors to *pedir los crismas*, that is, ask for sweets. Monticello Hispanics brought this residual custom with them from their villages in Colorado and New Mexico, where as children they would knock at the doors of neighbors on Christmas and chant:

Oremos, oremos
angelitos semos
d'el cielo venimos
a pedir algo venimos.
si no nos dan,
puertas y ventanas quebraremos.

Let's pray, let's pray
Little angels are we
Who have come from Heaven
To ask for charity.
If you do not allow us to partake
Your doors and windows we
shall break.

Of course, the last line was meant in jest, but both the rhyme and the *pedir los crismas* signified the importance of being hospitable to strangers who might indeed be angels from heaven asking for lodging or food as a sign of charity, no matter how poor a family might be.

New Year's Eve was celebrated by Hispanos in a manner quite distinct from Anglos in Monticello. Usually there was a dance which most of the Hispanos attended; but it was really after the dance that the celebration began, for many of the people who attended the dance would form a group to begin a house-to-house serenade. The serenaders were composed of Hispanos of all ages, and anyone who could play the guitar was not only invited to join but was almost forceably incorporated into the group. As the group walked from one house to another, people who had either not attended the dance, or those who had gone immediately home, waited expectantly with the lights darkened. As the group approached a house,

family members would peek through the curtains and listen as the serenaders sang the traditional Spanish verses of "Los días" or "Good Morning."

Then one of the lead singers would, in the time honored tradition of the roving troubador, make up additional verses exalting the qualities of the would-be hosts. The family would then turn on the lights and invite the serenaders into their home where they were offered wine and *bizcochitos*. The group would remain in one family's home for some time where they would sing and dance; then they would graciously take leave and proceed to another house, singing as they went. Occasionally, when they were ignored or refused entry to a house, the serenaders would sing a *copla* or stanza of biting satire aimed at the owner of the house. This serenading continued through the night until all of the Hispanic residences had been visited and serenaded. Any families unintentionally overlooked were serenaded on January 6, the Feast of the Epiphany, or "little Christmas" as it was called by the Hispano.

Two other special religious days observed by Hispanics in Monticello were *El día de San Juan* or the Feast of St. John on June 24 and *El día de San Lorenzo* or the Feast of St. Lawrence on August 10. It was traditionally believed that on June 24 the waters of the rivers and lakes surrounding Monticello were blessed and purified, since in Christian tradition that was the day on which Christ was baptized by John. In addition to signifying that water for the crops would be sweeter, June 24 signaled the day youngsters could go swimming in the reservoirs around Monticello. After this day parents usually allowed their children to go swimming without undue fear, but they also warned them not to forget to wet their foreheads before stepping into the water, "*para que no te pique el agua*" ("so that the water will not sting you"). This is a variation of the Mexican custom of blessing oneself with water before swimming as a symbolic form of self-baptism.

The feast day of San Lorenzo on August 10 signaled the beginning of the harvest. It was upon his intercession that Hispano farmers depended for good weather and gentle winds. In the days when most of the threshing was done by hand and the wheat was separated from the chaff by tossing it into the air, people would chant a little prayer as they worked: "*Viento, viento, San Lorenzo, barbas de oro*" ("Send us a breeze, send us a breeze, St. Lawrence of the golden beard"). Of course, here too there were variations of the

rhyme, some of which were playful. It was said, for example, that a man invoking the intercession of St. Lawrence for a favorable breeze was frustrated when his prayers went unheard. Finally, when the farmer could take it no longer, he yelled out, "*Viento, viento, San Lorenzo, barbas de chivato*" ("A breeze, a breeze, Saint Lawrence, beard of a he-goat"). Taking exception to the man's impatience, San Lorenzo, it was said, sent a terrible windstorm that blew his wheat entirely away.

These, then, are some of the life-cycle customs and liturgical observances that Hispanos from Monticello and elsewhere in Utah brought with them on their trek from New Mexico. Some traditions go back centuries and are steadfastly maintained, while time and American social pressures have increasingly eroded other of these customs. Since there is little subsistence farming done by Hispanos anymore, planting and harvest observances such as *El día de San Lorenzo* have declined. Baptisms, weddings, and funerals maintain vital secular elements of traditional practice, while many of the more religious elements have been lost. At weddings, for instance, the *marcha* and the *entrega* remain an integral part of the festivities, but at funerals the chanting of *alabados* has all but been abandoned. But in both cases there are reasons for maintenance or loss; a dance hall allows old wedding traditions to be repeated and perpetuated, while a mortuary that must close its doors to the community by, say, 10:00 p.m. puts an abrupt stop to night-long *velorios* and the singing of *alabados*. Strict Lenten observances of self-denial and penance have relaxed considerably, not because Hispanos in Monticello are necessarily less devout but because we live in a more secular world, a world in which even the Catholic church has relaxed its harsh Lenten observances. Still, when a child is baptized nowadays, he or she undergoes as serious an initiation into both the church and the Hispanic community as ever.

While there are still Hispanos living in Monticello, many of the elders have passed on, their traditions buried with them. Many of the children of the early Monticello settlers have left to settle in Price or the Salt Lake Valley area, and others have gone even further away to Denver or California, returning only occasionally to baptize their children in the now old St. Joseph's Church, or to attend a wedding, or more often a funeral. Yet, despite the gradual decline and change in Hispanic life-cycle rituals, many of the people who grew up in Monticello maintain some part of the best of their cultural traditions which they carry with them wherever they go. That they do so

reflects upon the strength and devotion of the early Hispanic pioneers who came to Utah *buscando trabajo*, "looking for work."

APPENDIX

"La Entrega de Novios"

A Dios le pido permiso,
memoria y entendimiento,
para poderme expresar
en este fiel casamiento.

A Dios le pido permiso
y a este público honrado,
para celebrar la boda
de los recientes casados.

Dios en un ser infinito,
María el segundo ser,
pues el mismo Jesucristo
hoy nos lo ha dado a entender.

Hizo Dios con su poder
Adán con sabiduría,
y le sacó una costilla
para formar la mujer.

Hizo que Adán se durmiera
bajo un hermoso vergel,
Dios le dió una compañera
pa' que viviera con él.

Ya volvió Adán de su sueño
con una dichosa suerte,
por obedecer a Dios
te recibo por esposa.

En el medio de la iglesia,
el sacerdote decía,
que se casen estos dos
como San José y María.

El padre les preguntó
si quieren casarse, di
y la iglesia los oyó
que los dos dijieron, sí.

Que *senifican* las arras
cuando se les van a echar,
senifican matrimonio
y el *anío* pastoral.

Que *senifican* las velas
cuando se les van a encender
senifican el mismo cuerpo
que ya va permanecer.

"The Wedding Song"

I ask God for permission,
memory and understanding
to be able to express myself
at this wedding full of faith.

From God I ask permission
and from this honorable gathering
to be able to celebrate the wedding
of this newly married couple.

God is an Infinite Being
Mary a second being
because Christ Himself
has made it known to us.

God with His power and wisdom
created Adam
and took from him a rib
to form his companion

He caused Adam to fall asleep
in a beautiful flower garden.
God gave him a companion
so that she with him could live.

Now Adam was awakened
with most happy fortune
and in obedience to God (answers)
"I receive you as my spouse."

At the altar of the church
the priest said to them
"Let these two be married
like St. Joseph and Mary."

The priest then asked them,
"If you wish to marry, say."
and those in the church
heard them both say, "Yes."

What do the coins signify
when they are going to be exchanged?
They signify the wedding promise
and the pastoral ring.

What do the candles signify
when they are about to be lighted?
They signify the one union
which will last forever.

Para confirmar el acto
permanece de rodilla
una honrada familia
el padrino y la madrina.

Esta mañana salieron
de mañana cuatro rosas,
el padrino y la madrina
el esposo y su esposa.

Ya llegaron a su casa
con mucho gusto y anhelo,
con lágrimas en sus ojos
sus padres los recibieron.

Oígame usted esposado
que le voy amonestar,
esa cruz que Dios le ha dado
no vaya a olvidar.

Si deja su cruz por otra
ella pegará un suspiro
y se llegará responsable
ante un tribuno divino.

Oígame usted esposada
y escuche lo que le digo,
ya no hay padre, ya no hay madre
ya lo que hay es marido.

El padrino y la madrina
ya saben su obligación,
hincar a sus 'hijados
y echarles la bendición.

La bendición de Dios Padre
y la Virgen María,
junto con la de sus padres
vayan en su compañía.

Ya con esta me despido,
ya me voy a retirar,
si en algo me ha equivocado
soy suyo y me pueden mandar.

A los padres de estos novios
les ofrezco con me cariño,
ahí tienen sus dos hijos
guíenlos por buen camino.

In order to acknowledge the fact,
the honorable family,
the godfather and the godmother
remain on their knees.

This morning four roses
came forth from church,
the godfather and the godmother,
the groom and his bride.

They have now arrived at home
with great joy and longing
where with tearful eyes their
parents have received them.

Listen to what I say young man
I am giving you some advice,
"The Cross which God has given you
you must never forget."

"If you leave your Cross for another
your spouse will suffer a shock
for which you will be held responsible
before a Divine Tribunal.

Listen to me young lady
and hear what I have to say,
"There is no longer father or mother
now there is only your husband."

The godfather and the godmother
how well they know their obligation,
blessing their godchildren
as these kneel before them.

The blessing of God the Father
and of the Virgin Mary
along with that of their parents
go in their company.

With this (verse) I say goodbye
for I am going to leave,
If in something I have erred
I am yours to be corrected.

To the parents of this couple
I offer you my best wishes,
there you have your children
guide them along the right path.

Wrestling with Death: Greek Immigrant Funeral Customs in Utah

BY HELEN Z. PAPANIKOLAS

IN THE EARLY YEARS OF THE CENTURY young immigrants regularly sat in Greek Town coffeehouses to arrange funerals for *patriotes* killed in falls of coal and ore, explosions, and spills of molten metal. "The gold-ornamented Minotaur [industry] of immigrant life is nourished on fresh Greek youth," wrote a Greek woman journalist who toured the bursting industrial camps of Utah in those years.¹ Sometimes a black-robed, tall-hatted priest, bearded and long haired, sat with the men. They did the best they could for each countryman but were able to provide little more than the rites for the dead and, at

Mrs. Papanikolas is a Fellow of the Utah State Historical Society and a member of the Board of State History.

¹ Maria S. Ekonomidou, *E Ellines tis Amerikis opos tous Eidha* ("The Greeks of America as I Saw Them") (New York, 1916), p. 37.

Funeral of Mary Georgelas Kelaidis who died in childbirth. She is dressed as a bride. Her three older sons are to the left of the coffin. Further left, seated, are her mother and husband who is unshaven in keeping with ancient custom that deemed vanity in the presence of death inappropriate. The dead woman's father, seated at right with cane, is wearing a black armband. Courtesy of Melba Georgelas Kouris.



most, place a wedding crown on his head; for marriage, like baptism, had ties with death.

The immigrants were men without women and expected to remain in America only long enough to accumulate savings. Bereft of mothers and sisters, they barely nurtured the culture that had come down to them from antiquity through the Christian-Byzantine epoch and into the *kleftic* era of insurrections against the 400-year rule of the Turks. Yet, so important were the rituals of death that the young men immediately built churches and sent for priests to insure the dead "not go to their graves unsung." Their horror of dying in a foreign land was thus mitigated somewhat.

Unlettered, these former tillers of arid, rocky soil, herders of goats and sheep, were unaware that their respect for their people's funeral rites had ancient roots. In Sophocles' *Elektra* and Aeschylus's *Choephoroi*, Elektra cries out her mother Clytemnestra's crime: she had buried her husband, Agamemnon, without prescribed ceremony and mourning. Following the profound command of culture, then, to bury the dead properly and to perform the mysteries (sacraments), the immigrants built the first Holy Trinity Church in 1905 on Fourth South in the section of Salt Lake City called Greek Town.

Long before the men came under the tyranny of Utah's industrial whistles and shift work, they had lived in privation, ever conscious of death. In terror villagers prayed while *praktiki* (folkhealers) tried to cure serious illnesses with herbs and incantations. Death was acknowledged in baptism and marriage. Often a child's godparent provided it with several yards of muslin to be put away and used as a winding sheet (*savanon*) at its burial. A godparent had a special significance in family life, always precarious in wars, illnesses, and death. If parents died or were unable to care for a child, the godparent raised it as his or her own. The godparents' gift of the winding sheet was one of several symbols signifying their adherence to the religious oath of championing a godchild until death.

In Roumeli of central Greece, from where many Carbon County Greeks emigrated, a boy with living parents was chosen to plant the bride's embroidered silk flag (*flamboura*) on the roof of her ancestral home. The staff was decorated with flowers and an empaled apple for fertility. On the way to the groom's house, such a boy sat on the bride's dowry piled high on mule or horse.² By these

²Dimitri Ntouzou, *Laografika tis Nafpaktias* ("Folkwritings of Nafpaktias") (Athens, Greece, 1961), pp. 85-93.

symbols — a boy untainted by death and an apple for fertility, the antithesis of death — the bride and groom hoped to cheat Charos (Charon).³

Throughout Greece, during the ceremonial shaving and hair-cutting of the groom by his best man (*koumbaros*), village girls asked his mother for her blessing and if she were dead, they sang: "Bless me, my little mother, bless me, my good one, / Even if it comes from Hades."⁴ In the villages around Mount Olympus the bride and groom stopped still before their house after the church service; musicians played a dirge; and the guests stamped on the ground calling out, "This earth that will devour us, let us trample it!"⁵ Among the nomad Sarakatsani, "The founding of a family is wholly good, yet marriage, sex relations, and children invariably foreshadow death."⁶ In marriage and baptism death was an on-looker.

At first the symbolic presence of death in marriage and baptismal rites held little significance in the Greek Towns of Utah, for there were no marriages or baptisms in the all-male communities. Without women in *xenetia* (foreign places) the ancient burial practices themselves were stripped of keenings, funeral feasts, and memorial wheat, since antiquity the province of women. Under the priest's direction the men instructed funeral attendants to wrap the dead in a *savanon* and dress him in his black Sunday suit; and, if he were unmarried, they often brought a wedding crown for his head as tradition demanded.

Funerals were held on Sundays because of the six-day work week. In somber clothing the men walked behind the hearse to the church, and following the service a photograph was taken of the *patriotis* in the open casket surrounded by compatriots and a long-haired priest in vestments looking stonily at the photographer's lens. The men kept the pictures as a memento and sent others to the dead man's family as proof he had been given an Orthodox funeral.

³The ancient Charos who was paid by the dead to ferry them across the river Styx to the underworld became for modern Greeks Death himself. The ferryman concept is a late literary innovation according to John Cuthbert Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (New Hyde Park, N.Y., 1964), pp. 98-117.

⁴Hades has not been Hell for the Greeks of any epoch. Except for the poet Pindar, it was a cold, gray, cobwebbed underworld. "... in Hades there breaks no dawn, and sings no bird, and no fountains of water flow." Rennell Rudd, *The Customs and Lore of Modern Greece* (London, 1892), p. 120.

⁵Dore Ogrizek, *Greece* (New York, 1955), p. 230.

⁶J. K. Campbell, *Honour, Family, and Patronage: A Study of Institutions and Moral Values in a Greek Mountain Community* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 280.



Funeral service for Soterios Banaoukas, 1918, was held at the first Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Church in Salt Lake City. Courtesy of the late Ernest Benardis.

When World War I began in Europe and animosity toward immigrants increased, the men added Greek and American flags to lodge standards for the picture-taking.

With the industrialization of Utah increasing rapidly, the immigrants lengthened their sojourn in America: they would begin families and return later to Greece. Women began coming, sent by families to marry men they had seen only in photographs; a great many women arrived around 1912 when Greece was at war with Turkey. Although some men went back to their villages for brides, most women came alone or in groups. For the frugal immigrants this saved the cost of ship's passage and would be added to the earnings that would take them out of labor and into the business world. The men feared also they would be taken into the Greek army if they returned to choose brides. Although nationalistic to the point of jingoism, they submerged patriotism to continue help to parents and to provide dowries for sisters.

Settled in Greek Towns, giving birth yearly, often caring for boarders as well as their own families, washing by hand, tending large gardens, the women ran to help each other, to prescribe their village cures, to tell their dreams, and to help in the rites of marriage, baptism, and death. The men now lived the old familiar life in which women ruled over its rich ceremonies; their namedays were fully attended to, and the great event of the year, Holy Week culminating in the Resurrection, was again joyfully commemorated. With the arrival of women, the ritual life of the community, then, flourished with traditional richness.

The drama of death often began with portents, usually dreams of ominous symbols: black birds — especially scavengers, human bones, a snake, a funeral procession, a congregation of priests in a house. The dreamer had to know whose Fate had decreed death; he rushed, stricken, through Greek Town to houses having much-used dreambooks that had either been brought from Greece or ordered from the Atlantis Publishing Company in New York City. Dreambooks saw such frequent use that they fell apart and had to be reordered.

A common sign of impending death was a gathering of birds under the eaves of a house. The second-generation son of an immigrant from Tripolis in the Peloponnese recalls his mother at a window pointing to a cluster of birds under the neighbor's eaves. "Someone is dying," she said. Not long afterwards she received a letter edged in black telling of her mother's death in Greece.⁷

Greek Town patriarchs could read of someone's coming death in the shoulder blade markings of the communal Easter lamb, but whose it would be they could not predict. Chicken bones were specific, however. The author remembers the visit of a Pocatello, Idaho, woman, a native of the Peloponnese, in her mother's house during World War II. The woman had just returned from attending a funeral in McGill, Nevada, and whispered that at the traditional funeral dinner she had read of her death in the bones of the chicken served her. She hid the bones in a handkerchief and later threw them away. Fifty-two years of age and in good health at the time, she died several months later of unexplained causes.⁸

⁷Told to the author by James O. Cononelos, the son.

⁸The ancient custom of divination by examining a lamb shoulder blade is described in Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore*, pp. 321–25. The portion of chicken served Mrs. Nick Poulos was probably the breastbone: Lawson, p. 327: "... the breastbone of the fowl ... [is] a poor man's substitute for the ovine shoulder blade. ..."

The soul of the dead brought the news to relatives before telephones and telegrams. For both ancient and modern Greeks the soul did not waft gently heavenward. It was active and demanding and could "wander about to annoy the living."⁹ Most Greek immigrants believed that the soul traveled swiftly everywhere it had been in life. Some thought it passed only through pleasant places, but Greeks from the mountains of central Greece, like the author's father, held that the soul left no previously visited spot untouched.¹⁰ A woman of Cretan parentage described the soul's journey in the following way:

It was a winter day. The doors and windows of my house were shut. A breeze passed by and chilled me. I knew it was the soul of someone who had just died. A few hours later a cousin from Rock Springs, Wyoming, telephoned that my uncle had died. And exactly that very moment when I felt the breeze!¹¹

The news of death was telephoned from one coffeehouse to another and relayed over backyard fences. In early immigrant days it was common to hear, "Charos came for him" or "He fought Charos and lost." From early times death was looked upon as a struggle with Charos, exemplified by the mythical figure Digenis Akrites, who guarded the borders of the Byzantine Empire in the tenth and eleventh century. For three days and three nights he fought Charos on a marble threshing floor.¹² Although Christianity substituted a battle with angels, the confrontation with Charos was most often used. The ancient Charos, the boatman whom the dead paid to ferry them across the river Styx to the underworld, was cruel, uncaring of other's grief.¹³ Those fated to die tried to bargain with him. In Euripedes' play *Alcestis*, Admetus fails to convince his par-

⁹Richard Blum and Eva Blum, *Health and Healing in Rural Greece: A Study of Three Communities* (Stanford University Press, 1965), p. 80; Richard and Eva Blum, *The Dangerous Hour: The Lore of Crisis and Mystery in Rural Greece* (New York, 1970), pp. 313-14, 319; Margaret Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p.5.

¹⁰In comparing Bulgarian and Greek beliefs on the soul, the Blums state in *The Dangerous Hour*, p. 374, that they found no parallel in the three Greek villages they studied of the Bulgarian view that souls visit every place on earth where they had once been. Utah Greeks from Roumeli in central Greece and Crete hold this belief.

¹¹Interview with Stella Ligeros Pappas, June 20, 1980.

¹²The Digenis Akrites ballad gave rise to a large body of Akritic ballads that are the introduction to folk poetry in the publications of the Academy of Athens: Georgios K. Spyridakis and Spyros D. Peristeris, *Ellinika Dhimotika Tragoudhia* ("Greek Demotic Songs"), vols. A (1962), B (1965), C (1968). Wrestling with Charos (Charon) does not appear in the original Akrites ballad: John Mavrogordato, *Digenis Akrites* (London: Oxford University Press, 1956). It is a later accretion. The spelling of Akrites was changed to Akritas by folk poets.

¹³Despite the continued custom of burying a coin with the dead to pay Charos, Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore*, pp. 106-7, discounts this as evidence that he was merely a ferryman.

ents to die in his place and so his wife follows Charos to the underworld.¹⁴

The contemporary Charos is Death himself; many Greek folksongs relate his remorse and even pity. Several of the author's friends were cautioned by their immigrant mothers to place a coin in their palms, on their eyelids, or mouth before burial. Knowing nothing about having to pay for their journey to the underworld, the mothers had no explanation to give, except to say "That's how it's done."

Nor could the mothers explain other customs. At a death, however, they knew that the amber pieces of frankincense they burned on top of their coal stoves would purify the house. They lighted a candle (in antiquity it guided the soul) on a plate which the priest broke as the body was taken from the house to church. Litsa Sampinos of Price, a native of the central Greece mountains, nearing ninety, said:

Sometimes the priest broke the plate, sometimes the women. The candle was blown out and the plate broken. They said this kept Death from re-entering and taking someone else. That's what they said.

The ancient custom of breaking the vessel used to wash a body¹⁵ had no opportunity to become established in America: funeral attendants took over the old, vital duty of preparing the dead for burial. After washing the body, attendants wrapped it in a shroud, the *savanon*, of four to six yards of muslin. Joseph M. Smith, who worked in the Deseret Mortuary throughout the Greek-immigrant era when most Greeks took their dead there because of its proximity to the Holy Trinity Church, recalled that priests instructed their funeral directors on the *savanon*, and they continued the practice for all Eastern Orthodox.¹⁶ American-born priests have dropped this old custom.

New clothing was put over the *savanon*, unless the dead person had asked to be buried in a previously worn dress or suit. Unmarried

¹⁴ Blum and Blum, *The Dangerous Hour*, p. 313 n. 1.

¹⁵ In Greece the vessel used to wash a body in wine and water was broken afterward. A priest's body was washed with wine and olive oil and the vessel used was burned. "... (in Spetsai at least) it cannot be broken, but is thrown into the sea. The priest's body is not put in a shroud but is dressed in a ... stole which a priest wears when he hears confessions." Irwin T. Sanders, *Rainbow in the Rock: The People of Rural Greece* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), p. 273. The author's mother, born in western Thrace, remembers that the bowl used to wash her grandfather, a priest, was kept, unused, on the mantel.

¹⁶ Interview with Joseph M. Smith, October 30, 1982. Why four or six yards of muslin was used rather than an uneven number common in Greek folklife, the author has been unable to discover. It could have been an arbitrary figure to approximate the Greek metric system.



*An unusually well preserved pair
of wax wedding crowns.*

men and women and young mothers were buried dressed as for marriage with a wedding crown on the head and a gold band on the ring finger of the right hand, the hand that makes the sign of the cross; girls and women wore wedding dresses.¹⁷ One of the seven mysteries, marriage is the most important event in an Orthodox person's life; if unmarried in life, the dead go to their graves as brides and grooms.

The ancient Greeks, however, perceived death as a wedding of mortals with gods, a necessity in making human beings equal with the deities. One of the most visible symbols of the connections between marriage and death is the ritual use of wedding crowns in both. This bond between death and marriage has come down to the present in the vestigial description of wedding-attired young: *thanatogami* (death weddings). Although the ancient view of death as a wedding with the gods disappeared with Christianity,¹⁸ the climax of Orthodox weddings is the exchange of the wedding crowns on the heads of the bride and groom. Connected with white ribbon, the crowns unite a man and woman under God's sanction as king and queen of a new household. In antiquity crowns of laurel were used. The wedding crowns of immigrant Greeks were made of embroidered white cloth blossoms, their children's of wax, and their grandchildren's of plastic. The *koumbaros* (best man) was responsible for providing the crowns (*stefana*), ceremonial candles, bride's veil, and silver wedding tray.¹⁹ The tray was held by a boy whose parents were

¹⁷In contrast to the religious significance of wearing the wedding ring on the right hand is the romantic connotation of other cultures of wearing the ring on the left hand because the blood vessels lead to the heart.

¹⁸Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore*, chap. 7.

¹⁹Immigrants in Salt Lake City usually bought these articles from Gregory Halles, confectioner, who regularly replenished his supply from New York wholesale houses. After his death Maria Takis made the accouterments. Immigrants in small towns often ordered directly from the Atlas Company in New York City.

living, again that death not corrupt the God-sanctioned union. After the wedding the bride placed the crowns in a glass-topped box next to the family icon and vigil light.

The crowns were the property of women and at their deaths were usually placed at one side of the casket. Immigrant mothers periodically mentioned how they wanted their *stefana* handled at burial: that their crowns should be wrapped in their wedding dresses before placing them in the casket, for example; or, rarely, that the connecting ribbon should be cut and one crown buried with the dead person and the other left for the surviving spouse; or that the crowns should be burned as was common among immigrants from the area around Sparta.²⁰ For young husbands and wives the burial or burning of crowns signified that the remaining spouse was free to marry again, although remarriage was frowned upon except for the welfare of small children.

In the death of the young, the godparent, cheated by Charos of presiding as best man at the godchild's wedding, supplied the wedding finery for the *thanatogamos*.²¹ The younger the child, the more poignant the wedding attire: a ten-year-old in a white suit and on his head a crown bought by his godmother; an eight-month-old baby, the godson of the author's father, in white with a gold wedding ring on his finger.²²

An unusual practice for children's burials was brought to Utah by Greeks from the island of Crete. At baptism a godfather tied the baby's hands and feet with a ribbon connected to him. The ribbon was saved; if the child died, its hands and feet were again tied with the baptismal ribbon during the service for the dead. Before the final closing of the casket the ribbon was cut. In Carbon County at the close of World War I, a small girl, whose parents had come from the village of Mavrolithari (Black Rock) in central Greece and whose godfather was a Cretan, died. The night of the funeral her mother dreamed of little children playing on a pleasant, grassy field, all except her child who hopped about oddly. "Why aren't you playing?" she asked her daughter, who answered, "Because my hands

²⁰ Greek women in Magna cautioned Angelo Heleotes to make certain he burned the wedding crowns after his wife's death. Irene Papajimas Kanoupes placed her wedding crowns at her husband's feet, an uncommon gesture.

²¹ Among all Eastern Orthodox godparenthood is sanctified by God. In the past it was believed to confer a relationship deeper than blood. Under the Turkish occupation when life was precarious, godparents were bound by oath to raise children as their own if parents died or were unable to care for them.

²² Theodore Giannopoulos; George G. Pappas.

and feet are tied." The mother awoke screaming and would not rest until her brother dug up the casket. The child was still tied with the baptismal ribbon. It was cut and the girl reburied.²³

Until the late 1940s all young people who died were given death weddings. A second-generation woman, who was rumored to have killed herself, left detailed directions for her funeral, including whom she wanted for bridesmaids and that Jordan almonds (*boubounieres*) should be distributed to those in attendance. Almonds tied in beribboned net are given as favors to wedding guests. During World War II families of unmarried soldiers who had military funerals in Price, Utah, gave wedding favors of Jordan almonds to the congregation.

By the end of the 1940s death weddings became less common; one of these in 1948 for a nineteen-year-old college student was carried out in the old tradition which included bridesmaids.²⁴ Not until 1977 was another death wedding service celebrated. The victim of an automobile accident, a twenty-seven-year-old woman was buried as a bride wearing a diamond ring bought by her parents; her pallbearers were young, unmarried men. The family had come from Crete following World War II and were still bound by its traditions.²⁵

²³Told to the author by Penelope Koulouris, sister of the dead child.

²⁴Bessie Chachas, March 1948.

²⁵Mary Tzerenakis, October 1977.

Kyriakoula Mastoris, noted keener of lamentations in the Salt Lake area, with her husband, John, and son Chris (inset) who died at age nine. Courtesy of Sophie Mastoris Saltus.



Before World War II, all the dead, after preparation for burial, were returned to their houses for ritual keening. Called *mirologhia* (words of fate) by the Greeks, similar laments were known in ancient Greece, Rome, Egypt, and China. They survive today in the Balkans, Mediterranean, and Middle East.²⁶ Greek tragedians used the theme repeatedly: "Unwept, unburied." . . . Lamentation has always been held by the Greeks to be as essential to the repose of the dead as burial . . . there is the religious idea that the dead need a twofold rite, both mourning and interment."²⁷

Women relatives of the dead keened the laments. As soon as women came to Utah, every mine, mill, and smelter town had one or two women noted for keening.²⁸ They were asked to lament antiphonally with the relatives, but women also keened uninvited.

A native of Megara, Arcadia, Greece, Kyriakoula Mastoris was sought after in the Salt Lake City area for singing the *mirologhia*. Two fellow Arcadians exacted a promise from her that she would keen at their deaths. She kept the promise but was reluctant to give a complete repertory for one of them because a daughter was to be married soon and she feared it would bring her bad luck.

Kyriakoula Mastoris's nine-year-old son died in 1933 of osteomyelitis. A daughter, Sophie Saltas, remembers her mother at the side of the casket in which her brother lay dressed in white with a wedding crown on his head. Her mother lamented her son's dying as a bud that had not flowered. The tragic theme of a child not growing to adulthood permeates many Greek folksongs. The mother bewailed not having been able to educate her son and mused on what he would have become. "Would you have been a doctor, a lawyer?" (Immigrant peoples had such aspirations for their sons; all was possible in America.) The mother railed against jealous Hades, god of the underworld, a deity unrecognized in any form by Greek Christianity: "If Hades had two sons and one was taken from him, then he would know how I feel."²⁹

²⁶Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*, p. 10. The southern tip of Greece is noted for *mirologhia*. See Patrick Leigh Fermor, *Mani: Travels in the Southern Peloponnese* (New York, 1958), chap. 5.

²⁷Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore*, p. 348. Numerous *mirologhia* are found in Spyridakis and Peristeris, "Greek Demotic Songs"; Gianni Efthysoulou, *Krytika Mirologhia* ("Cretan Mirologhia") (Athens, 1976); and Athanasios H. Giaka, *Ipirotika Dhimotika Tragoudia* ("Demotic Songs of Epirus"), 1000-1958 (Athens, n.d.).

²⁸Kyriakoula Mastoris and Stamatina Pappas, Salt Lake City; Mary Zaharias, Midvale; and a Carbon County woman known by the genitive form of her husband's name (a village custom), Grammatikina.

²⁹Hades, the underworld god of antiquity, became a place in modern times. However, this *mirologhi* definitely views Hades as a god.

Complaining and demanding of God, the Virgin, Christ, and ancient, implacable Fate why the dead had been taken was common among these Christian people. The author's husband remembers these cries at the casket of his thirteen-year-old brother who died in 1927 during a diphtheria epidemic. His mother and aunts protested repeatedly to the Virgin and Christ that They had allowed the boy to be taken, leaving them to mourn.

Lamentations are found in Homer: the Trojan women keening for Hector, Achilles lamenting the death of Patroklos. Bion's "Lament for Adonis" begins:

Wail, wail, Ah for Adonis!
He is lost to us, lovely Adonis.³⁰

A familiar lament for the Byzantine hero Digenis Akritas calls for mourners to

Shed your tears and cut your hair
Upon the body of brave Akritas.³¹

Cutting one's hair, a person's priceless possession, was a sign of ultimate grief.³²

During the *kleftic* period when Greeks fought to free themselves from the Turks, a large body of laments was added to their folk poetry. As in the ancient keenings, mountains, birds, streams, and animals were called upon to lament. Charos, naturally, was always nearby.

I see the green valley, the blue sky
I see Charos coming to take me
Black he is, black he wears, black his horse
And black the kerchief round his neck.³³

In Utah laments have not been sung since the early 1940s: mortuaries discontinued the practice of bringing bodies to houses during the war years, and the immigrants' children became increasingly rebellious at continuing this old-country custom. The proverb "unsung, unburied" was heard no more, relegated perhaps to the thoughts of the aging immigrants. The richness of Greek folklife in America was radically diminished.

³⁰ John Addington Symonds's translation.

³¹ Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*, pp. 27-28.

³² Cutting one's hair as a gift survives in the Greek Orthodox baptismal rite. The priest cuts three wisps of hair from the child's head and drops them into the baptismal water as a gift to God.

³³ Spyridakis and Peristeris, "Greek Demotic Songs," vol. C, pp. 349-50. Translated from the Greek by the author.



Services for Demetrios Sklavounos and George Sanalarios, victims of a 1917 industrial accident, were held at the first Holy Trinity Church. (Note wreaths, bell, and swags—American Christmas decorations adopted by the immigrants.) Courtesy of the late Ernest Benardis.

Today laments survive in the Good Friday keening around the flower-decorated bier of Christ. These Lamentations at the Tomb are among the most beautiful in Greek liturgical music. The keening of the Virgin begins:

O, my sweetest Springtime,
How is it You lie in a tomb now?
Wither has Your beauty gone?³⁴

In the early years, after a day of keening and a last night in his house, the dead was taken to church. Someone was left in the house to keep his soul, unwilling to begin its journey, from entering. Men, women, and children walked behind the hearse. The church bell tolled; with swinging censer the priest came to the door and led the procession to the front of the nave. There the casket was opened

³⁴See the Virgin's lament in Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*, pp. 62–78. The Orthodox Virgin is active in her suffering, unlike the passive Virgin of Catholicism.

with the dead person facing east in the direction of Heaven, where the sun rises. With women relatives pulling their hair, crying out, weeping loudly, the burial of the dead began with supplications, hymns, and psalms.

At the conclusion of the service the priest intoned, "Come, brethren, let us give the last kiss unto the dead, rendering thanks unto God." The mourners filed past the casket to kiss the dead person's cheek or the wedding crown if one were worn. As in centuries past they gave messages to be taken with them: "Give them our greetings. Tell them we'll see them soon."³⁵ Others gave their final exhortation. A mother implored her twenty-eight-year-old son, "Don't be afraid of the dark, my child."³⁶

The priest then dripped three drops of consecrated oil and three pinches of dirt (three for the Trinity and the three days between Christ's Crucifixion and Resurrection) on the dead. Some immigrants had brought an amulet or small bottle of Greek earth from their villages for this final act. Concluding prayers were chanted, and family and friends crowded around the open casket for a photograph, usually outside the church but at times inside or at the grave. Several old photographs show men standing near caskets, without collars, unshaven, reminders that in the presence of death attention to appearance was vanity. Unknown to them, dishevelment was a vestige of the self-laceration and tearing out of hair that brought Solon's legislation to regulate extreme behavior.³⁷ Church fathers also had counseled moderation, and Orthodoxy's great leader, John Chrysostom, denounced dirges as blasphemies.³⁸

At the cemetery the priest blessed the grave in the name of Orthodoxy and dedicated the earth in the name of Christ as sacred. He asked God to grant resurrection to the body buried there. In earliest immigrant days a black wooden cross with the dead's name in Greek across the arms was pushed into the grave. Later a tombstone, often with a photograph of the dead in a glass oval embedded in it, replaced the cross.³⁹

³⁵ Beginning with the *Iliad* the dead in Greek literature and throughout folk poetry were given messages to take with them. "The belief that the passing spirit is a sure and unerring messenger to another world has ever been the property of the Hellenic people." Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore*, p. 349.

³⁶ Helen Papoulas Koulouris.

³⁷ Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore*, pp. 346-47.

³⁸ Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*, p. 25.

³⁹ Grave markers and other funerary artifacts from the Bronze Age to Hellenistic Greece are the subject of *Greek Burial Customs* by Donna C. Kurtz and John Boardman (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1971.)

Following the burial, mourners assembled at the dead person's house or, more often, in a Greek boardinghouse where bachelors lived, for a fish dinner. Fish is a symbol of Jesus. (The acronym IHTHUS, Greek for Jesus Christ Son of God Saviour, is also the ancient Greek word for fish.) The funeral feast was called *makaria* (feast of blessing) or *parigoria* (consolation), and to fulfill this charge the gathering recalled happy and comic incidents in the dead's life and spoke of his having been freed from earthly pain and sadness for his journey to immortality. In antiquity the dinner was called *perideipneion*, and besides helping the bereaved family, it appeased and sent off the dead's ghost.⁴⁰

Climbing out of industrial labor into the secure life of small businessmen and sheep owners, the Greeks added meats and delicacies from America's bounty to the funeral dinners, making them feasts. The Greek Orthodox church disapproves of banquets for the "mercy meal" and advises token food "so that those who have known him or her can say, 'May his or her memory be eternal.'"⁴¹ Merely voicing a wish that one's memory be eternal would be insufficient because "food had an emotional and social significance in rural Greece that it does not have in northern Europe or the United States."⁴² This cultural trait thrived in America. Mothers had a compulsive concern to feed children well, thereby enabling them to withstand illness; the rites of hospitality required each house to be prepared at all times with sweets and liqueurs for the expected and unexpected visitor; plentiful food was indispensable for the great ceremonies of baptism, marriage, and death. Food represented the unity of people in sharing these events, trust, and interdependence.

Several days after a burial, the room the dead person had used was thoroughly cleaned and all bed clothes and articles in it were washed. Often the clothing was burned; immigrants from the area around Sparta also burned the mattress.⁴³ A priest was then summoned to purify the house with incense and holy water.

In immigrant days the family remained in the house for forty days of deep mourning, reflecting the forty days Moses was mourned by his people. Window shades were pulled down; photo-

⁴⁰ Kurtz and Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs*, p. 486.

⁴¹ Fr. William G. Gaines, *ABC's of Orthodoxy*, publication of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese, n.d., pp. 125, 128.

⁴² Blum and Blum, *Health and Healing in Rural Greece*, p. 108.

⁴³ Advice of Mrs. John Kerikas to her neighbor Catherine Coucourakis Chanak on the death of her father.

graphs gave pleasure and were put away or draped in black crepe as were mirrors, symbols of vanity. Crepe streamers were nailed to the front and back doors. Orphans wore black for a year, widows for the rest of their lives. Annie D. Palmer, social worker for the families of miners killed in the Castle Gate explosion of 1924, wrote: "Mrs. S[argetakis] has taken down the black drapes now that three years have passed and the house is more cheerful."⁴⁴

In the industrial West bereaved fathers and husbands worked their mine, mill, and smelter shifts during the forty days. A few, like the author's father-in-law, doggedly followed the old ways and remained at home. The forty-days mourning was also symbolic of reverence for the dead. In antiquity the dead's family was believed to be polluted and purification demanded members remain in the house; departing visitors washed their hands of the pollution in a vessel of water outside the door.⁴⁵

After the forty days family and friends attended a memorial service held during the Sunday liturgy. Over a mound of wheat called *kolyvo* or *kolyva*, the priest asked of God that the soul of the dead be like the good wheat that is sown and grows again.⁴⁶ The requiem for the dead commemorated the forty days that Christ wandered the earth before ascending to Heaven.⁴⁷ The dead had now met God. Memorial wheat, the *kolyvo*, is made of boiled sweetened wheat, nuts, raisins or currants, Jordan almonds, pomegranate seeds, and parsley. Wheat, nuts—especially almonds—and pomegranate seeds are symbols of immortality; parsley represents the greenness of the other world, sugar or honey signifies its sweetness.

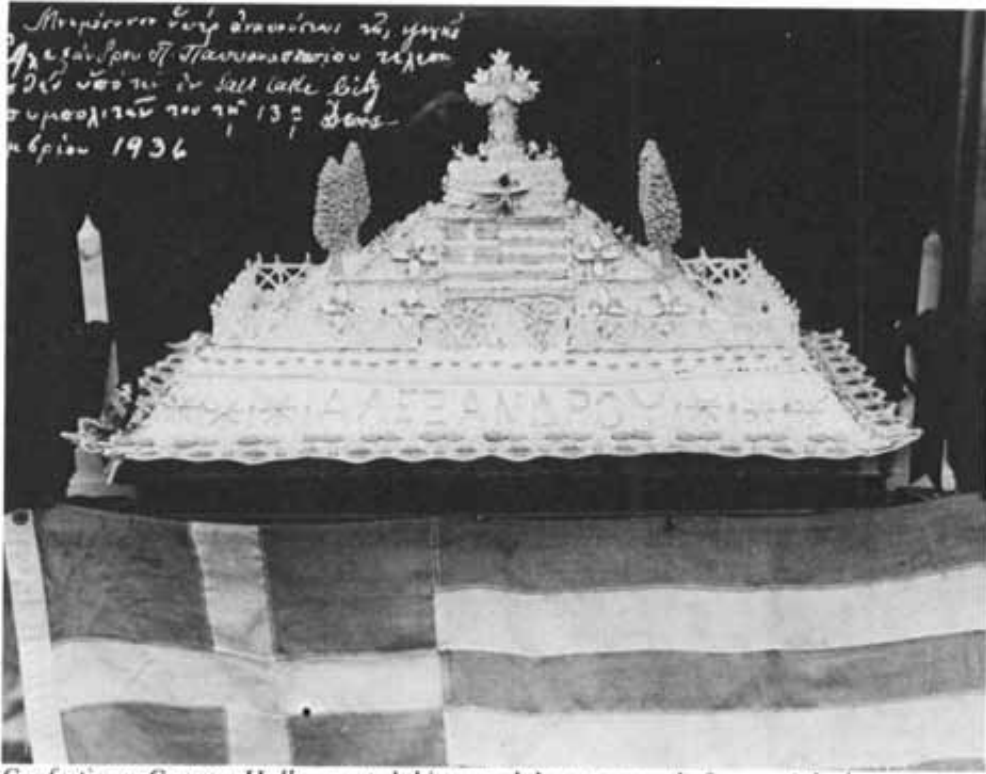
The wheat mixture was mounded, covered thickly with powdered sugar, decorated with green gelatine fir trees, also a sign of immortality, and silver-coated dragées forming the name of the dead. In the first years in Utah, the dead's families (or boarding-house keeper if he were unmarried) served the memorial wheat in their houses after the service. Eating the *kolyvo* was done in remembrance of the dead and in mutual forgiveness if he and the living had

⁴⁴ Castle Gate Relief Fund, Utah State Archives Annex, Salt Lake City.

⁴⁵ Kurtz and Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs*, p. 146.

⁴⁶ Wheat, the ancient symbol of immortality, is discussed in chap. 9 of G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1962), pp. 275–78, 305–6. The symbol for Orthodoxy comes from John 12:24; I Corinthians 15: 35–38.

⁴⁷ According to early church tradition, after Christ ascended to Heaven on his Resurrection, he returned to earth and appeared to his Disciples.



Confectioner Gregory Halles created this very elaborate mound of memorial wheat in 1936 for a man named Alexander (name is lettered in Greek at base of mound). Nowadays memorial wheat is distributed in small plastic packets. USHS collections.

wronged each other.⁴⁸ Memorial food has come from pagan times. Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* mocks an old deputy: "What do you mean by not dying? . . . I myself will knead you a honey-cake at once."

As more Greek immigrants came to Utah, the memorial wheat was portioned into small paper sacks and distributed to parishioners as they left the church. At the present time several elderly women prepare the *kolyvo*, place several tablespoons into miniature plastic packets, and staple them. The ornate decoration of the past is gone.

Immigrant Greeks also held memorial services for important religious and political figures: patriarchs, archbishops, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and King George II of Greece. All the dead are remembered on three Saturdays of the Souls (*Psyhosavvatous*) — the two Saturdays before Great Lent and the Saturday before Pentecost — with memorial services. Relatives of the dead bring the

⁴⁸In Greece *kolyvo* is brought to church also on the third and ninth day after burial and again after a year. The yearly date is also marked in America. The ancient Greeks held funeral dinners on the third, ninth, and thirtieth days after burial: Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament*, p. 47.



Greek Orthodox memorial service honoring the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt at the present Holy Trinity Church in Salt Lake City. Courtesy of Paul Borovilos.

memorial wheat to the church. If a person has no relatives, he often requests a woman to include his name on her list of souls. This request is inviolable; a second-generation Midvale woman has a list of thirty such dead.⁴⁹

Several practices and beliefs connected with death had a short life for Utah Greeks. One of these is the vendetta which is often confused with the Black Hand and mafioso murders. The Greek vendetta was generated during the Turkish occupation when Ottoman officials paid little attention to dispensing justice and clans took charge of avenging their families' dishonor. Besides needing to mete out justice, the Greeks believed that a murdered person required retribution to give his soul rest. This ancient belief was a popular theme for the tragedians.⁵⁰ Of contemporary vendettas in primitive areas of Greece, Patrick Leigh Fermore writes that they are often undertaken with sorrow and a sense of duty.⁵¹

A celebrated Carbon County vendetta at the end of the first decade of the century is still remembered. A man who killed a fellow

⁴⁹ Helen V. Ruble.

⁵⁰ Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore*, pp. 462-84.

⁵¹ Patrick Leigh Fermore, *Roumeli: Travels in Northern Greece* (New York, 1962), p. 127.

Cretan as he was leaving his house to bring the village midwife to deliver his wife fled to the United States. A cousin of the dead man vowed vengeance under the same circumstances. Once a vow was made in the name of the deity, it could not be retracted. The cousin found the murderer in Utah, by then a married man whose wife was expecting a child. Renting a room across the road from the couple, he feigned friendship: "Let's forget those old-country ideas." When the husband left the house to summon the mine company doctor for his wife's delivery, the cousin shot and killed him to make good his oath. American officials were far less lenient in sentencing murderers for crimes of passion than were Greek courts, but vendettas were discontinued in America because the immigrants themselves censured them. Immigrant Greeks then became adept at suing each other.

Curses also lost their effectiveness in America after a time. A tragic incident in 1925 illustrates the Greek proverb: "A mother's curse is the worst curse of all." A young Helper woman was engaged, unwillingly (parents decided whom a person would marry in Greek culture then), to a Cretan immigrant. The Thursday before her Sunday wedding she eloped with another Cretan, disapproved of by her family. He was a cardplayer and had almost been lynched by a mob in Price during World War I for giving an American girl a ride in his new yellow Buick.³² (Attentions paid to American women by Mediterranean men aroused intense feelings in the first thirty or so years of the century.) After the elopement, the bride telephoned her mother and said, "We are coming home." Her mother answered, "Dead you will come, alive never." On their honeymoon in Illinois, the bride reached over the canoe the groom was rowing to pick a water lily. The canoe overturned and she and her husband drowned.³³

Witches, too, were like the deities for whom America was alien land. That Christ would have crossed the ocean as Mormon theology predicates was incongruous to the immigrants: America was not holy land. In the fatherland witches (*maghisses*) could put death spells on people; subterfuges were required in America. This was resorted

³² Helen Zeese Papanikolas, "The Greeks of Carbon County," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 22 (1954): 153-54.

³³ Athena Xenakis and John Michelog, 1925. For parental curses see Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore*, pp. 391-94, 418-19. The Greek Orthodox church continues to believe in the efficacy of a mother's curse. See *Orthodox Observer*, December 12, 1972.

to in the smelter town of Tooele. Two brothers from a mountain village in the Peloponnese were in business together and lived in the same house. The older brother began to lose weight and doctors were unable to find a cause for it. Soon the patient became bedridden. His wife feared a curse had been put on him and suspected her sister-in-law. She wrote to the village from which she and her sister-in-law had emigrated and learned that a curse did exist. The sister-in-law had cut a small piece of her brother-in-law's underwear and sent it to the village witch. The witch then traced the outline of the cloth on a bar of soap. Each morning with incantations, she poured water on the soap to melt it. The older brother died within days after his wife received an answer to her letter.⁵⁴

Another aspect of Greek folklife that fortunately did not take root in America was the belief in vampires (*vrykolakes*).⁵⁵ In Greece the shortage of arable land forced the disinterment of bodies. After three years bodies were dug up, cleaned, and stored in a shed or charnel house next to the church. In some provinces they were cleaned and restored to the grave with bones of other family members. If flesh were clinging to the bones, villagers frantically performed rituals to drive away the vampires that had taken possession of the bodies. America's wide spaces did not require disinterment, and no one knew if vampires had possessed the dead or not.

Did vampires exist in America, young Greeks wondered as they gathered in a Carbon County coffeehouse in the early 1900s to discuss the funeral of a compatriot who had been killed in a mine accident. As a trick they appointed a braggart to go to the graveyard at midnight when vampires tried to enter the graves of the newly buried. At midnight the miner reached the graveyard not knowing that the men had dispatched one among them to be at the grave covered with a sheet and with a burning miner's lamp on his head. As the miner began walking toward the grave, an apparition arose from the gravestones moaning horribly, its yellow "eye" bright in the blackness. Pulling the gun from his belt, the miner fired at the yellow eye. The apparition fell to the ground and the miner ran back to the coffeehouse shouting, "There are too vampires in America! I just killed one!"

The waning of the immigrant era began in the early 1940s when the children of native Greeks were becoming adults and discarding

⁵⁴Told to Ted Paulos by his grandmother Anna Paulos, Tooele, Utah.

⁵⁵Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore*, chap. 4.

many old-country customs. These years coincided with World War II and its upheavals and mobility that changed Greek ethnic life.

Second-generation women have deemed the old funeral customs unworthy of being passed on to daughters. Funerals are now held on weekdays; because of the six-day work week, early priests had overlooked the injunction that burials should not be permitted on Sunday, the day of the Resurrection. Wedding crowns have lost much of their significance beyond the marriage service; churches provide a set for the temporary use of brides and grooms. Only a few of the immigrants are alive to whisper messages to the dead, and no longer are photographs of the open coffin taken. Seldom, too, is the final kiss given today. American-born clergy have substituted the Icon of the Resurrection to be venerated and a cross in the hands of the dead. They frown on extravagant expressions of grief and are more intent on keeping the formal religious ordinances of the Greek Orthodox church than were immigrant priests. Not until American-born priests led congregations was the prayer service held the evening before a funeral resumed.

With the dimming of the immigrant years, the transplanted culture of the Greeks lost much of its color. Grandchildren of immigrants have never heard of Charos, know nothing about the traveling of the soul, of keenings and death weddings.

In America the paralyzing poverty of the fatherland was absent. "The best seed ground for superstitions," Gilbert Murray says, "is a society in which the fortunes of men seem to bear practically no relation to their merits and efforts."⁵⁶ The material comforts of Utah replaced the "deeply satisfying"⁵⁷ death customs still practiced by Greek villagers.

Baptism now is unmarred by reminders of death, except for the perfunctory wish given to the baby's parents: "May he live and give joy." Weddings continue to be lavish, but seldom do guests greet the parents of the bridal couple with the old felicitation, "May they live, and next year a son." Many decades away from the impoverishment of villages, recipients of United States' modern medical practices, American-born babies, brides, and grooms have the expectation of living long lives. The ceremonies of baptism and marriage have left death to stand alone.

⁵⁶ Gilbert Murray, *Five Stages of Greek Religion* (London, 1935), p. 132.

⁵⁷ Blum and Blum, *The Dangerous Hour*, p. 184.

North European Horizontal Log Construction in the Sanpete-Sevier Valleys

BY THOMAS CARTER



Niels Peter Ostensen house, Fairview, ca. 1870, from a county tax card photograph taken ca. 1920. Home was demolished in 1979. See figs. 2 and 3 on p. 59 for a later view of the home and a floor plan. All numbered figures accompanying article were furnished by author.

DURING THE PAST SEVERAL DECADES the nineteenth-century folk architecture of Mormon Utah has attracted considerable scholarly attention. One aspect of this architecture, however, horizontal log construction, has been consistently overlooked. This oversight is curious, because in other areas of the United States, particularly those like Utah with a strong frontier identity, studies of log build-

Mr. Carter is an architectural historian with the Utah Division of State History. The author wishes to thank Warren Roberts and Gary Stanton for kindling a learned appreciation for old log buildings, Kent Powell for his interest and support of this project, Richard Jensen for his fine, inspirational work with Scandinavian immigrants in Utah, Bruce Hawkins and Craig Paulsen for their help in the fieldwork, and, finally, Meg Brady for providing the suggestions that put it all into readable form. Earlier versions of this paper were read at the annual meetings of the Utah State Historical Society and the Vernacular Architecture Forum.

ings are plentiful.¹ This lack of interest is at least partially explained by the general acceptance by students of Mormon architecture of an early statement by the Mormon church president, Brigham Young, condemning the use of log as a house building material.² If the president disapproved, the reasoning is that the rank-and-file membership followed his counsel and found alternative materials — stone, adobe, and brick — for their construction needs. The conclusion one reaches is that log was employed in Mormon communities only during the first pioneering stages of development and then quickly abandoned as permanence and prosperity arrived. Log buildings, then, are primitive and impermanent and warrant consideration only as a vehicle by which to begin discussions of later, more substantial building forms and techniques.³ While true in many instances, this argument is also problematic because it ignores several important groups of buildings that fall outside its narrow confines.

If log buildings are the by-products of pioneer expediency, it is difficult to acknowledge particular types of buildings whose longevity and technical sophistication do not fit the perceived frontier pattern. These latter types would include, first, log agricultural buildings — barns, granaries, stables, and so forth — which formed a sizeable portion of the state's architectural landscape well into the twentieth century, and second, log dwellings constructed by individuals, especially those from the Scandinavian countries, for whom log construction was a technically complex and prestigious building practice. By ignoring these groups of structures, our impression of Utah log architecture is imperfectly slanted toward the small, primitive cabins of pioneer fame. My interest in this work, then, has been in these neglected buildings and focuses specifically on particular log

¹See Donald A. Hutslar, "The Log Architecture of Ohio," *Ohio History* 80 (1971): 172-271; Warren E. Roberts, *The Log Architecture of Southern Indiana* (in press); Terry G. Jordan, *Texas Log Buildings: A Folk Architecture* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978); and Charles F. Gritzner, "Spanish Log Construction in New Mexico" (Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University, 1969). Jennifer E. Attebery, architectural historian with the Idaho State Historical Society, is currently completing a comprehensive survey of Idaho log buildings for her dissertation at Indiana University's Folklore Institute.

²Young's words are oft-quoted. Speaking to a gathering of Saints in 1860, he announced that "log buildings do not make a sightly city, we should like to see buildings that are ornamental and pleasing to the eye." See *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: George Q. Cannon, 1861), 8: 79.

³The primary studies of Utah log buildings are: Leon S. Pitman, "A Survey of Nineteenth Century Folk Housing in the Mormon Culture Region" (Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University, 1973), pp. 55-65; Peter L. Goss, "The Architectural History of Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43 (1973): 211-13; Richard C. Poulsen, "Folk Material Culture of the Sanpete-Sevier Area: Today's Reflections of a Region's Past," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 47 (1979): 130-47; and Larry Jones, "Utah's Vanishing Log Cabins," *Utah Preservation/Restoration*, 1979, pp. 48-50.

building forms, timber-fitting techniques, and corner-timbering types found in the heavily Scandinavian settlements of the Sanpete-Sevier valleys of east-central Utah. Norwegian and Swedish antecedents for these practices are identified and discussed within the context of Scandinavian immigration to Utah in the 1850-90 period. Although the study is outwardly a study of Utah log architecture and deals with the origins and diffusion of elements of North European folk material culture, a more general concern lies in rethinking traditional historical interpretations of nineteenth-century immigration to Mormon Utah.

Intense missionary activity in the Scandinavian countries by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the years after 1850 succeeded in bringing nearly 30,000 immigrant converts to the Mormon Zion in Utah.⁴ Previous historical studies of this immigration have stressed the rapid assimilation of these Scandinavians into what has been considered a rigidly authoritarian and homogeneous Mormon society. Old World folkways, including the log construction techniques of their homelands, are thought to have been discarded quickly as Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes adopted the language and customs of the dominant Anglo-American Mormon culture.⁵ The failure to recognize immigrant folk culture in Utah is partly due to faulty survey methodologies, but it also reflects a deeper assumption that Mormonism, as a quintessentially American religion, actively and successfully stifled all forms of ethnic expression. Recent studies in the fields of history, anthropology, and folklife⁶ have begun to chip away at this monolithic interpretation of nineteenth-century Mormon society. A descriptive survey of North European horizontal log architecture in Utah, long considered to be nonexistent, can make a useful contribution to the general reappraisal of immigrant life in the early settlements of the Mormon West.

⁴William Mulder, *Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957), p. 102.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 248; Cynthia Rice, "A Geographic Appraisal of the Acculturative Process of Scandinavians in the Sanpete Valley, Utah, 1850-1900" (Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1973), pp. 40-59; Pitman, "Folk Housing in the Mormon Culture Region," pp. 228-31; Goss, "Architectural History of Utah," p. 210; and Poulsen, "Folk Material Culture," pp. 130-47.

⁶Richard Jensen, "Mother Tongue and the Latter-day Saints in the United States, 1850-1983" (paper delivered at the annual meeting of the Mormon History Association, Omaha, Nebraska, May 7, 1983); Michael Scott Raber, "Religious Polity and Local Production: The Origins of a Mormon Town" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1978); and Tom Carter, "The Scandinavian American Pair House in Utah: A Study in Immigrant Innovation" (paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Folklore Society, San Antonio, Texas, October 1981).

LOG ARCHITECTURE IN THE UNITED STATES

Log building is everywhere an immigrant tradition in the United States, and, while displaying considerable variation, it can be found in two distinct forms drawn from two separate European cultural hearths. Recent studies have traced the European origins of horizontal log timbering to the Late Bronze Age (1500–750 B.C.) and suggest that by the twelfth century A.D. several regional traditions were in place.⁷ These log construction regions have been identified as the Alpine-Alemannic area in South-Central Europe; the East-Central region of East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Poland; and the North European region encompassing most of Scandinavia.⁸

Emigration from Europe carried log building to the American colonies, and the East-Central and North European techniques are the two principal forms found today in the United States.⁹ Both forms share a basic technology: walls are constructed of alternating tiers of horizontally laid timbers secured at the corners by interlocking notches (corner-timbering). The East-Central European technique is distinguished by the presence of gaps, or interstices, between the log tiers that are filled with "chinking" of clay, mortar, stone, or shingles.

In Finland, Sweden, and Norway, on the other hand, timber walls are constructed of tightly fitted logs, a method of construction that precludes the need for chinking.¹⁰ A metal scribe, called in Swedish a *dragjärn*, is used to trace the top side contour of the log onto the bottom of the log in the tier directly above. Both sides are scribed and then hewn with an axe or adz to produce a long groove, or *långdraget*, along the bottom length of the log. The top, or head, of the lower log is then fitted into the long groove to produce a snug, gapless joint. Other distinctive features of this Scandinavian style are visible in the use of horizontal purlin rafters and gable end walls built of logs running from the top plate to the ridge.

⁷ Fred Kniffen and Henry Glassie, "Building in Wood in the Eastern United States," *Geographical Review* 56 (1966): 58; and Matti Kaups, "Log Architecture in America: European Antecedents in a Finnish Context," *Journal of Cultural Geography* 2 (1981): 133–36.

⁸ Kniffen and Glassie, "Building in Wood," p. 58; Terry G. Jordan, "Alpine, Alemannic, and American Log Architecture," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 70 (1980): 154–80; and Konrad Bedal, *Historische Hausforschung* (Münster: F. Cöpppenrath, 1978), pp. 67–72.

⁹ The failure of the Alpine-Alemannic German tradition to be transported to America is treated in Jordan, "Alpine, Alemannic, and American Log Architecture," pp. 154–80.

¹⁰ Sigurd Erixon, "The North European Technique of Corner Timbering," *Folkliiv* 1 (1937): 13–44; Warren Roberts, "Some Comments on Log Construction in Scandinavia and the United States," in *Folklore Today: A Festschrift for Richard M. Dorson*, ed. Linda Degh, Henry Glassie, and Felix J. Oinas (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976), p. 440; and Kaups, "Log Architecture," pp. 138–39.

The "V" and half-dovetail notches are characteristic types of East-Central corner timbering, while the double notch and the tongue, or tooth, notch are typically Scandinavian. The full dovetail notch is found in both traditions, and the cultural origins of buildings with this form of corner timbering may be identified only by the treatment of the horizontal wall timbers.¹¹

The North European technique first surfaced in America in 1638 at the colony of New Sweden along the Delaware River.¹² Swedish and Finnish colonists established there a small trading and agricultural outpost. Lacking financial and material support from the mother country, New Sweden gradually declined and the colony was annexed by Dutch New Netherlands in 1655, which in turn succumbed to the English in 1664. Some examples of eighteenth-century Scandinavian log construction survive in the Delaware Valley, but no firm evidence exists to suggest that the technique spread outside New Sweden or that it influenced building in nearby English settlements.

In its most common form, American log construction is the East-Central European type and was introduced into the Mid-Atlantic region by German immigrants during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.¹³ These Germans found the heavily forested new continent well suited to the building technology of their European homelands, and as they moved inland into Pennsylvania and parts of the Midwest and South, German settlers carried their knowledge of log construction with them. This movement of technology was soon aided by a parallel stream of immigration from northern Ireland. Pouring through Philadelphia after 1710, Scots-Irish settlers quickly adopted German log timbering techniques and, as they themselves pushed into the upland South and Midwest, they brought with them the small British house forms, now built of logs, that were to become synonymous with American frontier architecture.¹⁴ The Anglo-American log house, then, is primarily a legacy of the German immigration to America.

¹¹ Erixon, "North European Technique," pp. 30, 32; Karl-Olov Arnstberg, *Datering av Knuttimrade Hus i Sverige* (Stockholm: Nordiska Museet, 1976), pp. 131-33; and Kaups, "Log Architecture," pp. 137, 145-47.

¹² C. A. Weslager, *The Log Cabin in America* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1969), pp. 148-205.

¹³ Kniffen and Glassie, "Building in Wood," pp. 58-65; Weslager, *Log Cabin*, pp. 206-60.

¹⁴ Henry Glassie, "The Types of the Southern Mountain Cabin," in *The Study of American Folklore*, ed. Jan H. Brunvand (New York: W.W. Norton, 1968), pp. 338-70.

Not until the mid-nineteenth century was the North European, or Scandinavian, technique reintroduced into the upper Midwest where it is primarily found today in areas of Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan.¹⁵ As a more recent immigrant tradition, the North European technique is confined to pockets of ethnic settlement where it is identified with a particular national or cultural group. Examples have been recorded in the West, particularly in the Finnish settlements of Idaho¹⁶ and in Mormon Utah.

SCANDINAVIAN LOG BUILDINGS IN THE SANPETE-SEVIER VALLEYS

Log building studies in the United States have quite naturally concentrated on the dominant, Anglo-American/Germanic forms, and such has been the case in Utah where "many have wondered why this region, settled and populated by Scandinavians fresh from the motherlands, is so leanly endowed with Scandinavian artifacts."¹⁷ As has been already suggested, the absence of Scandinavian artifacts is not a material fact but largely the product of an enduring mythology concerning the centripetal, homogeneous nature of nineteenth-century Mormon society. Because a uniformity in folk tradition continues to be a pivotal concept in Mormon historiography, a conspicuous lack of Old World tradition (conspicuous because immigrants to a frontier region can usually be expected initially to rely on building traditions carried in from their recently departed homelands) lends convenient support to the widely accepted hypothesis of Mormon cultural convergence, i.e., a heterogeneous convert population was transformed by the experience of conversion to Mormonism into a homogeneous body of like-minded Saints. The dissimilar became similar, and it has been assumed that despite the large numbers of Scandinavian Mormons there was only one Utah style of log building; it was primitive, and it could be traced to an already Americanized immigrant tradition carried along with the migration of midwestern Mormons to the Great Basin. The architectural record itself, however, contradicts this view, for under

¹⁵ Marion J. Nelson, "The Material Culture and Folk Arts of the Norwegians in America," in *Perspectives on American Folk Art*, ed. Ian M.G. Quimby and Scott T. Swank (New York: W.W. Norton, 1981), pp. 79-133; Matti Kaups, "A Typology of Log Dwellings of the Finnish Immigrants in the Middle West," (paper delivered at the annual meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians, April 1980); and Richard W. E. Perrin, *Historic Wisconsin Buildings*, Milwaukee Public Museum Publications in History, No. 4 (Milwaukee, 1962), pp. 6-14.

¹⁶ Jennifer E. Attebery and Alice Koskela of the Idaho State Historical Society have recorded Finnish log buildings in the Clark's Fork (Sandpoint), Long Valley (McCall), and North Fork of the Coeur d'Alene River (Wallace) areas of Idaho.

¹⁷ Poulsen, "Folk Material Culture," p. 133.



Fig. 1

careful examination it becomes apparent that the Scandinavian immigrant techniques for working logs into buildings survived the Atlantic crossing *and* the assimilating pressures of the incipient Mormon culture. The implication of this work is profound, for it suggests that the integrating power of early Mormon society may have been previously overstated.

Although Scandinavian log construction can be located in many Mormon areas of Utah and Idaho, it is, at the same time, easy to overestimate the number of examples one can expect to find. This fact could account, in part, for general neglect of the tradition as well as its perceived absence in the Mormon region. The relative scarcity of the North European tradition, however, can be explained by the composition of the Mormon Scandinavian population itself. While it is well known that the Scandinavian immigration to Utah was considerable (some 30,000 converts making the trip by 1900) and that these newcomers often settled together in groups (the Sanpete-Sevier area is, for instance, called Little Scandinavia because of its high percentage of Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians), the number of immigrants arriving with knowledge of building with logs was itself never great. The largest number of Utah Scandinavians, nearly 56 percent of the total, were from Denmark. Log construction in Denmark — deforested by the seventeenth century — had long given way to more efficient timber-framing techniques for house construction. By the nineteenth century, moreover, older half-timbered houses were generally being replaced by newer ones built of brick.¹⁸ Swedes made up the next largest group, about 32 percent, but these Saints were largely gathered from the southern province of Skåne, an area for many centuries politically and culturally aligned with nearby Denmark. Building practices there closely resembled those in Denmark.¹⁹ The remaining 12 percent of the Mormon Scandinavian converts were from Norway, and this group, coupled with a small number of Swedes from that country's northern provinces, is the most likely source for the North European log construction found today in Utah.²⁰ As a percentage of the total Mormon population, the number of individual bearers of the Scandinavian tradition

¹⁸The best general treatment of Danish traditional architecture is found in Bjarne Stoklund, *Bondegård og Byggeskik* (København: Dansk Historisk Fællesforenings Håndbøger, 1972).

¹⁹See Monika Minnhagen, *Bondens Bostad: En Studie Rörande Boningslängans Form, Funktion och Förändring i Sydöstra Skåne* (Lund: W.K. Gleerup, 1973).

²⁰See Halvor Vreim, *Norsk Trearkitektur* (Oslo: Gylkdendal, 1947) and Anders Sandvig, *Vår Gamle Bondebebyggelse* (Oslo: Noregs Boklag, 1947).

was never large. It was, nevertheless, tenacious, and the imprint of these immigrant carpenters continues today to be visible in the Sanpete and Sevier valleys.

Typical perhaps of these immigrant builders is the Norwegian Oluf Larsen. Born in 1836 in Drammen, Larsen joined the LDS church in 1851, and after serving as a missionary in his homeland for more than a decade, he emigrated to Utah in 1862. A carpenter and farmer, Larsen first settled in Sanpete County but later moved on to Circleville in Piute County. He proudly wrote of his building experiences there:

I now planned to build a house on the front of my lot as soon as possible. I hauled out logs and hewed them to a thickness of six inches, building them into the house as I hauled them. When the house was finished it was the best in Circleville as it was *dovetailed and grooved together as they build log houses in Norway* (emphasis added).²¹

Larsen's Circleville log house no longer stands, but others do; and although they do not survive in great numbers, they occur with enough frequency to allow us to document the Scandinavian technique as it is found in Utah. For the purposes of this paper I have confined my examples to the Sanpete-Sevier valleys of east-central Utah, an area rich in both styles of American log building. I have chosen several Scandinavian buildings to focus upon: three buildings from Fairview at the northern end of the study area, a house and granary from Central in the southern end, and finally, a cluster of houses and granaries from Ephraim, the most Nordic of all Utah towns, in the central zone.

The Niels Peter Ostensen house in Fairview (fig. 2) is the largest of the Scandinavian log houses in the Sanpete-Sevier region. Ostensen was born in 1824 in Gerdbrandsdeten, Norway, and converted to the LDS church during the early 1850s.²² He emigrated to Utah in 1856 and was among the first settlers of Fairview in 1859. It is impossible to date the homestead precisely, but it seems probable that Ostensen built the house sometime in the late 1860s as features like the adobe fireplace and willow lathe interior walls suggest an early building date for the area. Ostensen died in 1912, and the house was recorded in 1979 as it was being demolished by its owners.

²¹ Oluf Christian Larsen, "Autobiography, 1836-1916," typescript, LDS Church Library Archives, Salt Lake City.

²² Ostensen family genealogy courtesy of Alvin Brady, Fairview, Utah; Sanpete County Records, Parcel 16, Plat A; Fairview City Survey; and United States Census, 1860.



Fig. 2. Niels Peter Ostensen house, Fairview.

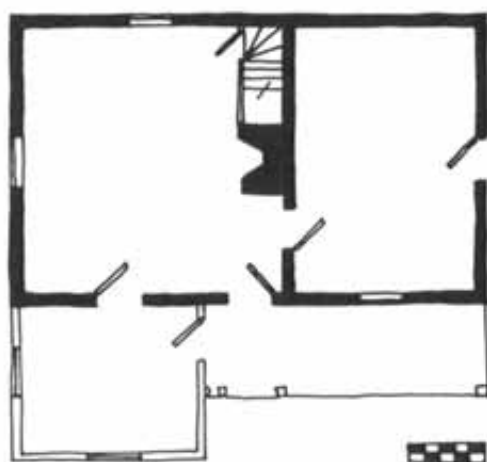


Fig. 3. Floor plan of Ostensen house, May 15, 1979. Shaded area indicates original section.

The Ostensen house was a 1 ½ story dwelling with two rooms on each floor (fig. 3). The upstairs was reached through a boxed, closet staircase placed, along with the fireplace, against the internal partition. The house itself was a hall-and-parlor vernacular type found throughout the eastern United States and a particularly popular dwelling in Utah communities before 1890.²³ The house type is characterized by a symmetrical façade which fronts a two-room asymmetrical internal plan and may be found built of various materials, 1, 1 ½, or 2 stories high. The hall-and-parlor house is primarily considered an English form, but recent work on cotters' and laborers' housing in nineteenth-century Scandinavia suggests that smaller, one- or two-room houses were neither unknown nor uncommon during the time of emigration. Such small houses, largely unstudied,

²³ Henry Glassie, *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), pp. 64–68; Tom Carter, "Folk Design," pp. 49–51; and Leon Pitman, "Folk Housing," pp. 146–67.



Fig. 4. Cross-section of front elevation wall of Ostensen house showing hewn and grooved logs. Siding was applied on front of building only as a decorative device.

appear by the middle of the nineteenth century to transcend regional and national classification.²⁴

The Ostensen house was constructed of horizontal log walls with full dovetail corner timbering, and the logs were tightly jointed through the application of the long groove technique (fig. 4). The internal wall was log and dovetailed into the front and back walls. The end log walls extended only to the level of the upper gable windows, the gables being framed in with board and batten siding. A shed roof porch extended across the front and was partially enclosed and extended on one end to form a small service wing. Drop, or novelty, siding covered the principal elevation of the house and was

²⁴See Gunnar Jahn, *Byggeskikker På Den Norske Landsbygd* (Oslo: Haschehoug, 1925), pp. 6, 64; and Marion Nelson, "Material Culture," pp. 84–85. Citing the unpublished results of a survey of nineteenth-century Norwegian rural buildings by Darrell Henning, curator, Norwegian American Museum, Decorah, Iowa, Nelson notes that "Recent investigations of nineteenth century cotters' and workmen's houses in Norway indicate that the [rectangular] house type could have been brought to this country by Norwegian immigrants." It is never clear in this work, however, whether the typical midwestern Norwegian house is a one- (single cell) or two-room (hall-and-parlor) type.



Fig. 5. Ostensen barn. Such two-level barns are common features on Sanpete-Sevier Scandinavian homesteads. Slab boards at the left rear of barn cover main entrance to the stable area.

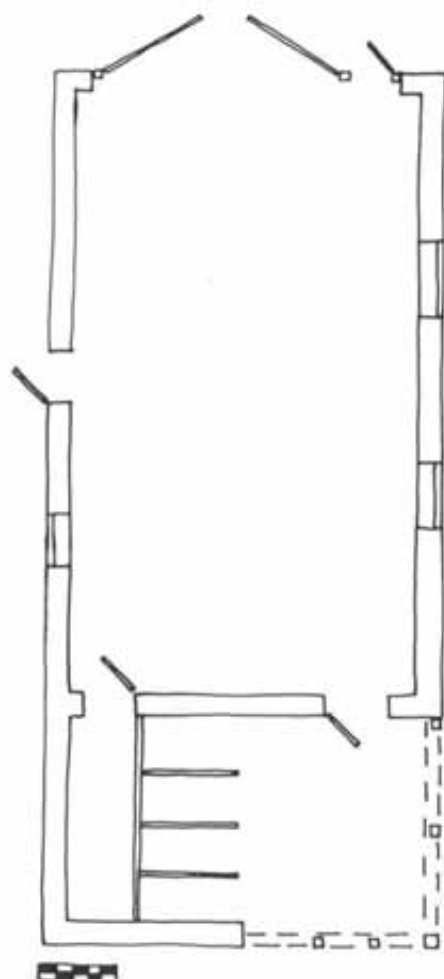


Fig. 6. Floor plan of barn, May 15, 1979.

probably added in the 1880s. It seems likely that the chamfered, bracketed porch posts and the pedimented window heads were added at the same time, for such decoration is typical of the period.

The Ostensen barn (fig. 5), built at the same time as the house, was of the distinctive type found on Scandinavian homesteads in the Sanpete Valley and characterized by a large rectangular plan and a two-level arrangement. The bottom level included stalls, stables, and work areas (fig. 6), while the upper story was used solely for hay

storage. The barn was constructed of local oölite limestone at the first level, and the upper half was horizontal log timbering. The finely dovetailed corners were similar to the work on the house, but slight gaps were left between the log tiers to allow air movement through the hay loft. The long, 40-foot sides required splicing the logs with pegged lap joints. This distinctive barn type is found in a variety of materials and is primarily associated with Scandinavian homesteads, though specific European antecedents cannot be determined. The Ostensen farmstead is only one of several examples of the North European log tradition surfacing in Fairview. Another small log building, albeit with a more obscure history, also deserves attention.

The town of Fairview was settled in 1859 as part of the general occupation of the Sanpete Valley by members of the LDS church.²⁵ A small fort was erected in that year; it had three sides laid up in rock and a fourth composed of log cabins placed side by side. By the early 1860s additional log cabins lined the insides of the rock walls and several rows of cabins had been built through the center of the fort. A peace treaty was signed with the local Southern Paiutes in 1869, and soon thereafter the fort was dismantled and many of the log homes moved out onto larger city residential lots to serve as temporary shelter while larger, rock houses were completed. Several log buildings stand today in Fairview that residents claim date back to the initial fort building period. One of these buildings (fig. 7) is a good example of what could possibly have been the first home of one of Fairview's three early Norwegian families.²⁶

The well-crafted timbering on this small, 8'8" x 11'8", structure suggests that it was indeed originally intended, even if only temporarily, to serve as a dwelling. With only one exception (the Jensen granary discussed below), Scandinavian granaries and farm buildings found in this area lack grooved walls. The small size of the building also remains consistent with descriptions of many fort homes. Oluf Larsen pioneered three Sanpete-Sevier towns and in each case initially built shelters that measured 8'x10'. The house itself is constructed of fitted, hewn timbers joined at the corners with

²⁵W. H. Lever, *History of Sanpete and Emery Counties* (Ogden, Ut.: W. H. Lever, 1898), pp. 351–52; and *Daughters of Utah Pioneers, These Our Fathers: A Centennial History of Sanpete County* (Springville, Ut.: Art City Publishing, 1947), pp. 121–22.

²⁶The 1860 Census for North Bend (soon renamed Fairview) indicates that of 54 families reporting place of origin, 29 were from the eastern United States, 8 from the British Isles, 13 from Denmark, 1 from Sweden, and 3 from Norway. The three Norwegian families were the Ostensens, Gugstafss, and Johnsons.



Fig. 7. Fort cabin, Fairview, ca. 1860, builder unknown.

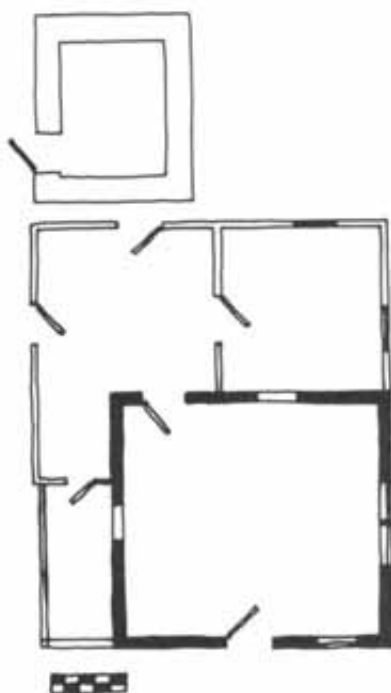


Fig. 8. Full-dovetail corner timbering on Fairview fort cabin.

a full dovetail notch (fig. 8). The logs in the gable wall support purlin rafters. No fireplace is present in the building, but evidence indicates that a stove flue once projected through the roof at the front left corner. Despite the obviously isolated frontier setting, available records do reveal a surprising number of cooking and heating stoves in this area by the mid-1850s and early 1860s.²⁷

Easily the best example of North European log construction in Utah is the Peter Jensen homestead in Central, Sevier County. The original site, surveyed in 1979 and documented in 1982 as it was being cleared for development, consisted of a

²⁷ LDS Church Consecration Deeds, Sanpete County Courthouse, 1855–1857. For a discussion of the LDS consecration movement of the 1850s, see Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, and Dean L. May, *Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation among the Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), pp. 63–78.



Figs. 9, 10, 11. Peter Jensen house, ca. 1875-85, Central. Tightly fitted log walls, log end gables, and purlin (cross) rafters are all Scandinavian features. Large window was added ca. 1890 after house had been moved to present location. Small projecting key or tongue at bottom of square notch is dovetailed internally into top of log beneath it. Shaded area on floor plan, January 26, 1982, indicates original section.

log house and granary, a straw-thatched cowshed,²⁸ and a frame milkhouse. The Jensen house (fig. 9) was a 1 ½ story single-cell dwelling constructed of hewn logs grooved and secured at the corners with a tongue notch (*tungknut*) (fig. 10). This notch is characterized by an internal interlocking dovetail, that is, the tongue or tooth that projects from the bottom of the otherwise square notch is dovetailed into the top of the log just below it. This notch is found in Finland, Sweden, and Norway but is nowhere a common form, particularly in the nineteenth century when the full dovetail notch gained supremacy throughout much of the Scandinavian region.²⁹ The tongue notch has not been recorded in Utah outside the Sanpete-Sevier region. The rafters on the Jensen house both supported and were supported by the logs in the gables. The purlins rested upon the rising tiers of gable logs while those logs were in turn secured to the purlins by a pegged lap joint. The single-cell plan (fig. 11) is similar to some midwestern Norwegian homes and also to the ubiquitous Anglo-American square cabin.³⁰ The original stove flue probably was found off-center on the ridge, although in the 1940s it was relocated at the rear corner of the front room. A detached dirt-roofed, volcanic stone shed at the rear of the house could have been an original feature of the homestead.

The Jensen granary (fig. 12) displayed an excellence in workmanship similar to the house but different in several respects. It had a low, flat roof covering its 17'8" x 15'8" rectangular plan. The door was on the broad side, and the original grain bins had been removed. The grooved and fitted logs had been left round



Fig. 12. Jensen granary, ca. 1875-85, Central. Pegs stabilizing gable wall are visible in this photograph.

²⁸David R. Lee and Hector H. Lee, "Thatched Cowsheds of the Mormon Country," *Western Folklore* 50 (1981): pp. 171-87.

²⁹See Sandvig, *Vår Gamle Bondebebyggelse*, pp. 22-23; Arnstberg, *Datering av Knuttimrade Hus i Sverige*, pp. 131-34; and Kaups, "Log Architecture," p. 137. In each country, a different name exists for this notch. In Norwegian the term is *suale hale* or "swallow tail" joint; in Finnish the term translates out to "tooth" or "lock" notch, and in Swedish it is a *tungknut* or "tongue notch."

³⁰Glassie, "Types of the Southern Mountain Cabin," pp. 349-53, and Nelson, "Material Culture," p. 84.



Fig. 13. Double notch corner timbering on Jensen granary.

except at the corners where they were hewn flat on the sides to produce the double-notch corner timbering (fig. 13). Projecting past the end of the wall, the double notch is characteristically Scandinavian but is encountered only infrequently in Utah.³¹ The complex history of the two Jensen buildings suggests something of the problems encountered in trying to rely only upon technology in determining the ethnic background of a historic structure.

The Sevier Valley was occupied during the mid-

1860s by Mormon settlers moving down from the Sanpete communities. Towns like Richfield and Central were just getting started when the Black Hawk War broke out and forced them to be abandoned until peace was restored in 1870. The land where this homestead sits was not formally claimed until 1884 by Peter Jensen, a young Danish carpenter. Jensen had been born in Denmark and in 1880 was twenty-five years old and living with his parents in Richfield. It appears that Jensen married in the early 1880s and bought the homestead in Central for his new family. For his new house Jensen may have contracted the work out to Norwegian carpenters; two such men, Anders Johnson and Bengt Anderson, were living in Richfield at the time. A curious feature of the house, however, suggest that it might have been built earlier, probably in Richfield, and then moved to Central in 1884.

Careful recording of the house in 1982 revealed that the logs on each façade had been marked with Roman numerals.³² Weathered and barely visible in places, this numbering has two possible explanations. It is conceivable, given the intricate nature of the log work,

³¹ Erixon, "North European Technique," pp. 30-32.

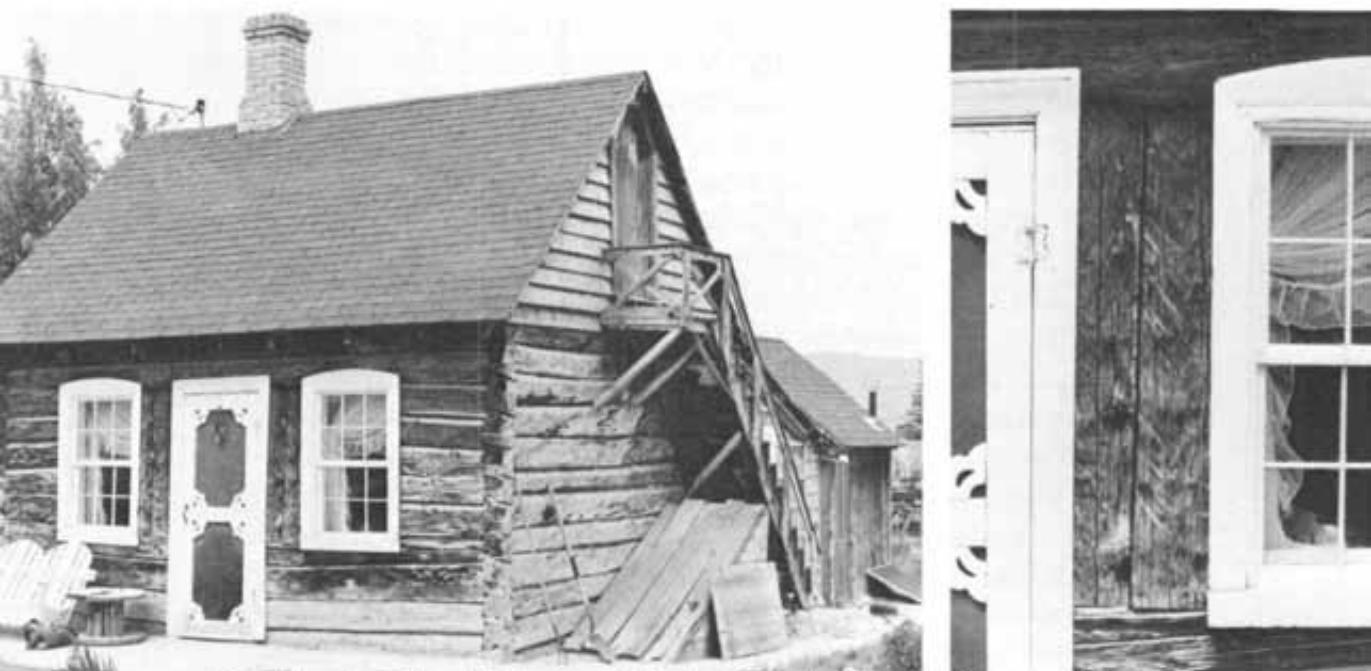
³² The archaic forms for 4 and 9 were used, i.e., IIII instead of IV and VIIII instead of IX.

that the house builder numbered his notched and grooved logs on the ground before assembling them into the wall. Such a practice was, however, unusual in Scandinavia and is encountered there only in those cases where the house was being assembled with the specific intention of moving.³³ The fact that several logs occur out of ordered sequence rules out the idea that the house was constructed in Richfield by Norwegian carpenters expressly for re-erection in Central. If that had been the case, it is doubtful that any such technical irregularities would exist. A more normal Scandinavian building procedure found the logs being placed into the walls as they were prepared. The presence of the numbered timbers, coupled with the fact that several logs are out of place in the wall, strongly suggests that the house was once dismantled. The fact that this homestead was always owned by Danish families supports the theory that the house was moved. It seems likely that Peter Jensen purchased the house and granary in Richfield (presumably from a Norwegian family) and then moved them to his land in Central. The smaller granary could have been dragged by team the relatively short distance between the two towns. This confusion between owner and technology is often encountered in Utah architecture, especially in the Scandinavian log buildings of Ephraim in the Sanpete Valley. Here, several dozen buildings remain that have identifiably Norwegian and Swedish characteristics but English and Danish owners.

Settled in 1852–53, Ephraim was one of the early Mormon towns to be located outside the parent colony at Salt Lake City. For a variety of reasons — the availability of land, official instructions, and the desire to be close to their countrymen — Ephraim became a center for Scandinavian settlement. By 1870, census records indicate that of the town's 245 families, 168 (69 percent) were Danish, 30 (12 percent) Swedish, and 14 (6 percent) were Norwegian. Scandinavians made up 87 percent of the total population, the rest coming from the eastern United States and the British Isles. It is not surprising then, to expect a concentration here of Old World housing and construction forms.³⁴

³³Correspondence with Darrell Henning, curator, Norwegian-American Museum, Decorah, Iowa, March 8, 1983. Henning notes that roman numerals were used in teaching math in Norway well into the nineteenth century.

³⁴Tom Carter, "The Scandinavian-American Pair House in Utah," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Preservation Office, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.



Figs. 14 and 15. Joseph Thorpe and Charles A. Fredericksen are listed as early owners of this Ephraim house, ca. 1880-90. Detail shows vertical logs placed between front door and windows.

Ephraim's log buildings fall into two groups: small single-cell cabins and granaries. Typical of the houses is the Charles Fredericksen house, built around 1880 (fig. 14). The house is small, the original square section measuring about 17' x 15', and originally consisted of a single room with sleeping loft reached by an outside staircase. Several frame additions were later made to the rear of the dwelling. The logs were hewn square on the sides and dovetailed at the corners. They were grooved and fitted only on the façade. The less visible elevations were treated with less care; here the tops and the bottoms of the logs have been roughly squared before being chinked. A unique feature of this house is the vertical mortising of logs at each side of the front door (fig. 15). These secure timbers replaced the short and unstable horizontal log pieces normally found in these narrow spaces.

Of the Scandinavian granaries in Ephraim, the most common is the tongue notch type (fig. 16) of which there are more than a half-dozen. These granaries have rectangular plans, fitted but ungrooved walls, a door in the broad side, and tongue notch corner-timbering similar to the Jensen house in Central. Ephraim is the only

town in the Sanpete Valley where these tongue notched granaries are found, an isolation that suggests they may be the work of a single carpenter. Other granaries exhibit the same general form but have either full dovetail or double notch corner-timbering (fig. 17). Historical research on Ephraim's North European log buildings indicates that all were initially owned by either Danish or Anglo-American Mormons. The skill required to build these structures was considerable, and it is not unreasonable to conclude that they were all built by people other than their owners (at least, the work was directed by individuals who were competent in these techniques) and that these carpenters were from Norway and Sweden.



Fig. 16. Tongue-notched granary, ca. 1865-70, Ephraim. Window suggests granary was once used as a residence.

Fig. 17. Double-notched granary, ca. 1865-70, Ephraim. Building was moved from original site in 1960s to prevent demolition.



CONCLUSION

In what is to date the most extensive survey of Mormon western folk housing, the geographer Leon Pitman recorded five different types of Utah corner-timbering: the full dovetail, half dovetail, saddle, V, and square notches. Pitman traced each of these notches to midwestern (Central European technique) source areas, concluding that Norwegians and Swedes "added nothing significantly new to the Mormon practices already fully developed before the Utah period."³⁵ This observation was then used to support his basic thesis that for European Mormons "conversion to the [LDS] Church was synonymous with emigration to Zion and synonymous with rapid assimilation into Mormon American culture."³⁶ The buildings discussed in this paper offer an alternative assessment of the Scandinavian contribution to material life in early Utah. In the Sanpete-Sevier region, Norwegian and Swedish carpenters, to an extent fully commensurate with their numbers, added significantly to the local log construction technology, a contribution visible in distinctive corner-timbering types, tight, well-fitted walls, and the purlin roof framing system. At the most fundamental historic-geographic level, these buildings document the survival of North European horizontal log construction in Utah as a viable immigrant tradition. At another, perhaps at a more meaningful level, they also provide the evidence around which to fashion a new and more pluralistic view of early Mormon society.

In a recent essay, William A. Wilson has suggested that "folklorists must devise new ways of looking at Mormon lore. Most studies to date have assumed a cultural homogeneity that in reality has never existed."³⁷ Although Wilson has directed his comments toward the contemporary world and its folklore, it is not unreasonable to find meaning here for the study of the past as well. There can be no doubt that the early Utah Saints were unified by a strong religious ideology, a shared set of values, and an accepted ordering of knowledge. At the same time, these Mormons were hardly identical. In a multicultural setting — and nineteenth-century Mormon society must be considered precisely that — individuals would be

³⁵ Pitman, "Folk Housing in the Mormon Culture Region," p. 78.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

³⁷ William A. Wilson, "Mormon Folklore," in *Handbook of American Folklore*, ed. Richard M. Dorson (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), p. 159.

expected to display any number of social statuses.³⁸ At various times, individuals assume different identities, none of which, except under the most extreme circumstances, would be considered mutually exclusive. Turning to the subject of this paper, house building, we might find one Norwegian to be thoroughly Mormon in terms of religious beliefs, conforming to community standards in public work projects, eating American food, and at the same time continuing to build his own house as he had done in Norway. The last fact, the surfacing of a Norwegian status, does not affect or undermine an allegiance to a new identity as a Mormon. Other immigrants would be expected to react in still other ways, with some, for instance, rejecting the home styles of their homelands in favor of those of their new neighbors.

If we reject the concept of cultural homogeneity as a myth, a simplification of human behavior, then it follows that it becomes difficult to generalize in any way about the immigrant experience in Utah except to say that it was different for all people. It is not a question of total assimilation into American culture or of total maintenance of Old World tradition. Each set of newcomers reacted according to their own expectations, skills, and economic circumstances. The presence of Scandinavian log buildings in Utah does not mean that all Norwegians and Swedes who knew how built such structures. Clearly they did not. But *some did* and the point worth making here is that the early Mormon world — the world we thought we knew so well — is much less predictable, much less ordered, and ultimately, much more interesting than we have generally thought.

³⁸ I am following here the work of Richard Bauman, "Differential Identity and the Social Base of Folklore" in *Toward New Perspectives in Folklore*, ed. Americo Paredes and Richard Bauman (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1975), pp. 31–41; and William A. Wilson, *On Being Human: The Folklore of Mormon Missionaries* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1981), pp. 1–4.

Utah's Indians and Popular Photography in the American West: A View from the Picture Post Card

BY PATRICIA C. ALBERS
AND WILLIAM R. JAMES

THE AMERICAN INDIAN HAS BEEN A DOMINANT subject in western photography since the middle of the nineteenth century. Among the variety of media on which photographs of western Indians have been disseminated to the public, the picture post card has been one of the most popular. Even though post cards of Indians in Utah and neighboring states have been commonplace, they have received little attention in the popular visual arts.¹

Tracing the history and variety of photographic images that represent Utah's Indian peoples to the public is important for two reasons. First and foremost, it reveals the bias and subjectivity that have been inherent in the making and mass reproduction of Indian photographs over the past century. Second, it contributes to a critical understanding of the role that popular photography has played in fostering stereotypic images of the American Indian. The post card is well suited to illuminating this situation because of the volume and diversity of Indian photographs that have been printed on this medium and because the post card has been one of the major media from which the public has drawn its visual image of the American Indian.

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¹Some of the better overviews of this subject include Robert Berkhofer, Jr., *The Whiteman's Indian* (New York: Random House, 1979); Gretchen M. Bataille and Charles P. Silet, eds. *The Pretend Indians: Images of Native Americans in the Movies* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1980); and Raymond Stedman, *Shadows of the Indian: Stereotypes in American Culture* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982). Works that have examined stereotyping in painting and still photography include John Ewers, "An Anthropologist Looks at Early Pictures of American Indians," *New York Historical Quarterly* (1949): 223-34, and "The Emergence of the Plains Indians as the Symbol of the North American Indian," *The Smithsonian Report* (1964): 531-44; Joanna Scherer, "You Can't Believe Your Eyes: Inaccuracies in Photographs of North American Indians," *Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communications* (1975), 2: 67-79; Margaret Blackman, "Posing the American Indian," *Natural History*, January 1981, pp. 69-75; and Christopher Lyman, *The Vanishing Race and Other Illusions* (New York: Pantheon Press, 1982).

PHOTOGRAPHIC INTERPRETATION AND THE PICTURE POST CARD

For large numbers of people the idea of the American Indian does not represent a real person but an image created by the popular media.² One medium that has fostered and perpetuated mythical stereotypes of the American Indian is photography. Through the mass printing of Indian photographs as book illustrations, posters, framing prints, and picture post cards, certain stereotypic images of the Indian have been indelibly inscribed in the public mind. Of the various American Indian stereotypes that have been conveyed to the public through still photographs, two stand out.

In the first and most dominant photographic image, which is basically masculine in gender,³ the Indian is portrayed as a Plains Indian — a tipi-dwelling, buffalo-hunting, and equestrian warrior or chief replete with a full-feathered war bonnet. Widely promoted in Wild West shows at the turn of the twentieth century, and more recently in Hollywood films,⁴ the Plains Indian image has become the major standard by which the public judges the "authenticity" of pictures portraying Indian people. Indeed, for many Americans and Europeans the only "real" Indian is a Plains Indian.

The second image, in contrast, portrays the Indian as natural and pristine, a creator of exotic crafts, lifeways, and ceremonies. This image, which draws heavily on the Navajo and pueblo-dwelling peoples of the Southwest, has been popularized largely as a result of the growth of tourism in New Mexico and Arizona during the twentieth century.

Although very different in their content, both the Plains and the Southwestern image of the Indian promote the notion that the American Indian is isolated and timeless — existing in a place without history and removed from contact with the dominant Anglo-American culture. This idea, of course, is a myth. Yet, in the realm of popular photography, where fantasy is widespread, the myth takes on the appearance of "reality." An important question must be asked: how has photography promoted a mythical image of the American Indian when native cultures have changed and been

² Berkhofer, *The Whiteman's Indian*, pp. 3–32.

³ See Patricia Albers, "Introduction," *The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women*, ed. Patricia Albers and Beatrice Medicine (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1983), pp. 1–3.

⁴ For excellent discussions of this image, see Ewers, "The Emergence of the Plains Indians as the Symbol of the North American Indian"; John Price, "The Stereotyping of the American Indian in Motion Pictures," *Ethnohistory* 20 (1979): 153–71; and Richard Slotkin, "The Wild West," *Buffalo Bill and the Wild West* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1982), pp. 27–44.

influenced by external contact for hundreds of years? In order to answer this question, we must look at the character of photography itself and the processes by which its practitioners selectively produce and distribute mythical stereotypes as "real" images.

There is a widely held notion among the public that photographs are "real"; that they preserve a trace of an appearance that existed in an actual time and place.⁵ Unquestionably, photographs do record actual people, places, and events. It is also clear, however, that what is preserved by the camera may not faithfully depict the *lived-in* experiences of the subjects pictured. It is precisely this paradoxical quality, which permits unauthentic sights to appear as genuine ones, that makes photography such a powerful force in the manipulation of symbols and images in the modern world.

Photographs can, and they do, mislead and misinform. They do this in two principal ways. First, those who take pictures define, select, and sometimes even construct the set of appearances they believe conform to an "authentic" image of the American Indian. Second, the mass distribution and public use of photographs remove pictures from the historical context in which they originated. By severing the picture from its point of origin and placing it in a setting that has no intrinsic relation to the experiences of those who have been photographed, the image becomes distorted. It does so because it takes on new meanings associated with the contexts in which it is displayed. These contexts do not communicate the concrete and given realities of those who have been pictured, but instead, they reveal the attitudes and understandings of those who promote and view the photographs from afar.⁶

The process of photographic misrepresentation, which begins at the point of taking and developing a picture, involves obvious as well as subtle forms of manipulation. One type of manipulation occurs when a photograph is altered either by extensive cropping or by the removal and addition of objects in a photograph. One of the most popular photographers of American Indians, Edward Curtis, regularly altered his photographs to give the illusion that the Indian people he photographed lived under pristine conditions.⁷

⁵ Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977), pp. 72, 81, 93; and John Berger, *Another Way of Telling* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), pp. 88-92.

⁶ John Berger, *About Looking* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), pp. 51-53.

⁷ Lyman, *The Vanishing American*, pp. 62-78.



Fig. 1. Faked photograph, photographer unknown. USHS collections.



Fig. 2. Be-Nah Na-Zuhn, a Navajo infant photographed by J. R. Willis of Gallup. All post cards accompanying this article are from the authors' collection.

An especially blatant example of "faking" a photograph comes from a picture recently used in the book, *The Peoples of Utah*.⁸ The picture, entitled "Ute mother with child in a beaded cradle board," is a composite of two different photographs (see figs. 1 and 2). The infant pictured in fig. 1 is identical to the one shown in fig. 2, and she is Navajo not Ute. She was photographed in the 1930s by J. R. Willis of Gallup, New Mexico, and the original picture was reproduced on at least two post cards. One, which is shown here (fig. 2), is a photo-stock card probably issued by the photographer, J. R. Willis. The second is a linen-stock card⁹ distributed by Willis and published by the Curteich Company of Chicago.¹⁰ It is obvious that Willis's picture has been superimposed on another to create what might have been deemed a more "authentic" image.

⁸Helen Z. Papanikolas, ed. (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1976) p. 33.

⁹Type of linen-textured paper on which post cards were commonly printed from 1935 to 1946.

¹⁰The card is entitled, "Pretty Eyes (Be-Nah Na-Zuhn)," #22, Curteich: 3A-H744, and it was printed in the 1940s.



Fig. 3. Popular post card view of a Ute infant released ca. 1912.

graph was taken in a studio where the cradleboard was propped against a chair. In the painted version, however, the cradleboard is leaning against a tree — a more pristine and natural appearance conforming to popular ideas about Indians and nature.

Much more common than altering the actual appearance of a photograph was the practice whereby photographers staged the appearance of the subjects they photographed. Here, as in the practice of photographic alteration, the photographer consciously created a picture in keeping with an image he/she wished to project.

In the photographic history of Utah Indians, the work of Jack Hillers, who accompanied the Powell expedition, is one of the most well-known examples of photographic staging. Although Julian Steward¹³ was among the first to note the contrived character of

Altering photographs was not uncommon in the reproduction of pictures for popular consumption, including those that appeared on post cards. A good example of this is a post card of a Ute infant that was printed in large numbers from 1905 to 1945 by the H. H. Tammon Company of Denver (see fig. 3). The picture is actually a reproduction of a painting rendered from a photograph taken in the late nineteenth century.¹¹ A copy of the original photograph was also printed on a post card issued by the Rotograph Company of New York (fig. 4).¹² The Rotograph post card clearly reveals that the original photo-

¹¹ We have not been able to determine the name of the photographer, but we suspect it might have been Henderson of Denver, Colorado. This particular picture not only appears on the H. H. Tammon card, #3439, illustrated here but also on two others from this firm.

¹² This view, #G894, is part of a larger set of Ute pictures released on post cards by the Rotograph Company around 1905.

¹³ "Notes on Hillers's Photographs of the Paiute and Ute Indians on the Powell Expedition of 1873," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* 98 (1939): 1-23.

many of Hillers's photographs of the *Nuwuvi* (Southern Paiutes), others¹⁴ have since demonstrated how the staging of these pictures actually took place. Not only did Hillers and Powell dress their Paiute subjects in costumes they had furnished,¹⁵ but they also posed them in caricatured ways (see fig. 5). Hillers's Paiute photos never appeared on post cards, as far as we know, but they were released to the public on stereoviews.

What is significant about the Hillers photographs is that they demonstrate, very clearly, what happens when commercial motivations are mixed with documentary ones. Ostensibly,



Fig. 4. "Ute Papoose" by an unknown photographer.



Fig. 5 Powell expedition photographer John K. Hillers posed Paiute men and women in furnished costumes for this photograph. Smithsonian Office of Anthropology, Bureau of Ethnology collection.

¹⁴Robert C. Euler, "Southern Paiute Ethnohistory," *University of Utah Anthropological Papers* (1966), #78; Don Fowler and Catherine Fowler, "Anthropology of the Numa: John Wesley Powell's Manuscripts on the Numic People of Western North America (1868-1880)," *Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology* 14 (1971); and Scherer, "You Can't Believe Your Eyes."

¹⁵See Scherer, "You Can't Believe Your Eyes," p. 70.



Fig. 6. Post card titled "Navajo Indian Sand Painting" actually shows a Yei rug.

the Powell expedition was scientific, and its purpose was to record authentically the people and places along the Colorado River. Yet, it is clear the members of this famous expedition were also interested in gaining personal profit through the sale of their photographs;¹⁶ and as a result, they were probably more concerned with creating images of local Indians that pandered to popular tastes than in recording native life-styles as they existed in the late nineteenth century.

In staging a photograph subjects do not need to be put in costumes or posed in caricatured ways in order for the picture to be contrived and

misleading. Subjects can be wearing their own traditional clothing and carrying on customary activities. One good example of this is a post card entitled "Navajo Indian Sand Painting," which was distributed on photo as well as linen-stock by Frasher's Photo of Pomona, California (see fig. 6).¹⁷ When this picture is examined carefully, it becomes evident that the appearance of the sand painting has been contrived. In fact, what is lying on the ground is not a sand painting but a *Yei* rug. If this was a real sand painting, the woman in the background would not be weaving during a ceremonial act that is sacred to the Navajo.

Even when the appearance on a photograph is not staged, the photographer still exercises selection in deciding at what point to take a picture, whom to photograph, and in what setting. In photographs taken for commercial purposes, we rarely see a selection of pictures constituting representative scenes from the total stream of events and activities that people experience in their day-to-day life.

¹⁶ It is reported that Powell and Hillers earned as much as \$4,100 for the rights to their Colorado River photographs. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

¹⁷ The linen-stock view, #3A-H48, was published by Curteich of Chicago under contract with Frasher.



Fig. 7. Grizzly Feathers of Sedona, Arizona, distributed this post card captioned "Navajo women taking their sheep to water in beautiful Monument Valley." Bob Bradshaw took the photograph in the early 1960s, but this card was printed and distributed in the 1970s.

Instead, we only receive very partial glimpses of peoples' lived-in experiences. These are the glimpses that the photographer has carefully chosen because they conform to his/her idea of what is interesting, unique, and exotic.

The Navajos, for example, have been the most widely photographed Indian group in Utah. On the picture post card alone, over 600 different photographs have been printed since the early decades of the twentieth century. Of these pictures, nearly half show Navajo women weaving rugs, another quarter depict family groups in front of hogans, and most of the others show individuals posed against major natural attractions (i.e., Monument Valley). Fig. 7 is a good example of the kind of picture typically reproduced on modern post cards. While this view represents a real scene in the daily life of some Navajos, it is not part of the day-to-day experiences of the vast majority. Yet, it is this sort of view that the public most often sees, not pictures of Navajo women working as nurses in hospitals, as secretaries in offices, or as assembly-line workers in factories. By emphasizing the unique and exotic, post card pictures contribute directly to the public's incomplete, and therefore distorted, impression of what life is like for most present-day Navajos.

At this point it is appropriate to make note of John Berger's important distinction between "private" and "public" photographs.¹⁸ A private photograph is "a memento from a life being lived."¹⁹ It is embedded directly in the lives of those who are pictured and who view the photograph. Its meaning is personal and drawn directly from the lived-in experiences of those associated with the photograph. The pictures that people take for themselves, or have taken by others, and that fill the ubiquitous "family album" are of this order. The public photograph, in contrast, is removed completely from the historical setting in which it was taken and from the lives of the people who participated in its production. Its message is abstract and detached from the context in which it originated. As John Berger states, "It offers information, but information severed from all lived experience. If the public photograph contributes to a memory, it is the memory of an unknowable and total stranger."²⁰ Multiple and external meanings, which have nothing to do with the lives of the people pictured, become associated with the public photograph. Most post cards fall into this category.

Post cards play a significant role in the creation, and re-creation, of popular stereotypes, not only in terms of the pictures that they selectively illustrate but also in relation to the printed messages they convey. Post card captions tell the reader what is important to see and how it should be seen. The linen-stock print of fig. 2, for example, carries the following message:

Pretty Eyes the Navajo Indian baby is carried in a cradle similar to this from birth until large enough to creep. Tho wrapped and bound, even in the summer, they seem quite happy and greet all strangers with a smile.

Compare this to the bizarre messages printed on a variety of H. H. Tammon cards of Ute Indians published during the first decade of the twentieth century. One caption is seen not only on the picture shown here (fig. 8) but also on a card entitled "Ute Medicine Man."²¹ Another variation, which appears on a card entitled "Poor Um, Ute Brave," reads:

¹⁸ Berger, *About Looking*, pp. 51–53.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ This card is part of an H. H. Tammon series of post cards depicting Utes; it is numbered 014. The subjects in the series are identical to those in the Rotograph set.



Fig. 8. "Touch-i-goo, Indian Squaw," published ca. 1905 by H. H. Tammon, comes from a widely distributed set of post cards depicting Ute Indians. It provides a good example of the kind of racist captions appearing on post cards with Indians.

I am sending you by to days train an Indian papoose in a carrier. I bought it from a Squaw on the Reservation. As soon as you get it, feed it some pins and needles and it will be good.²²

Among other things, this sort of message reinforces the stereotyped notion of the stoic Indian, immune to pain and suffering. In this kind of racist image-making, Indians are not real people. They are fetishized objects on which the public can vent all sorts of sadistic impulses. In fact, when messages such as these commonly appear on post cards depicting Ute men, they uphold and justify white aggression against the Indian.

Another popular post card issued in the 1940s shows a Navajo family in front of a hogan, and its caption emphasizes the stereotyped idea that Indian people are backward and uncivilized:

The Navajo Indians, 50,000 in number, show little influence of the advance of civilization, living by the primitive methods of their forefathers. Many of them live in such remote districts far from civilization that they seldom see a white man.²³

²² This card, #015, is from the same group as the "Ute Medicine Man."

²³ The card, entitled "Navajo Indian at Home," #14, was distributed by J. R. Willis of Albuquerque and Southwest Arts and Crafts of Santa Fe, New Mexico. It was published by Curteich of Chicago, #9A-H1638.

The major point being made here is that public photographs are susceptible to any use or interpretation. They are readily manipulated in the interest of public fantasies and stereotypes that bear little or no relation to the actual experiences of those being pictured. We can see more clearly how this occurs by examining the kinds of post cards on which pictures of Utah Indians have appeared and the types of images that have dominated these pictures since the early twentieth century.

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN PHOTOGRAPHIC IMAGES OVER TIME

How a photograph is read and the "language of images"²⁴ it conveys cannot be understood apart from the context in which it appears and the uses to which it is put. If we look at the post cards that have depicted Utah Indians since the early twentieth century, we find that they were produced and distributed to three very different audiences: local residents, national consumers, and regional tourists. For each audience the post card had different meanings and functions. Not surprisingly, the images of Utah Indians that dominated the post cards of each audience varied as well.

Local Residents

In the early decades of the twentieth century the post card was a popular medium on which private photographs were printed. The few individuals who owned cameras often printed their pictures on post card stock and mailed them to friends and relatives in near as well as distant places. Local studio photographers were also commissioned to produce photos on post cards for private use; and, incidentally, Indian people often had their own pictures issued on post cards in this way.

Most private post cards of Utah Indians contain images that are not very different from the way of life Indian people actually led. Although not without their own forms of stereotyping, the private post card tended to emphasize the ordinary, everyday aspects of Indian life as it was lived in the early twentieth century. Most of these cards depicted the places where Utah Indians lived, worked, and celebrated; or they were taken in local studios with the same props and backgrounds used in photographs of neighboring whites. Except in photographs that pictured ceremonial activity (i.e., the Bear Dance), Indian people were seen in their everyday clothing

²⁴ Cf. John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (New York: Penguin Books, 1977), p. 48.



Fig. 9. Ute woman and child, ca. 1908, photographer unknown.

which among the Paiutes and the Western Shoshones, for example, was fashioned after styles popular among whites in the pre-1920 era. In private post cards, Indian subjects were photographed in an unpretentious and casual manner. The entire composition had a naive and unpolished quality. Generally speaking, private post cards conveyed an appearance in keeping with the observer's own associated image of Indian people. This image was embedded not only in the day-to-day experiences of the observer but also in the daily life of the Indian people pictured.

Fig. 9 is an example of a privately issued post card. This particular picture does not have any written message to help identify the woman and child photographed. This situation was not uncommon. Since private post cards were kept for personal use, the identity and meaning of the photograph would have been self-evident and drawn directly from the experiences of those who took and viewed it. The ethnic identity of the woman and child pictured is Ute. The child is the same as the one photographed by Frank Savage of Ogden in a picture widely reproduced on post cards during the first decade of the twentieth century. Besides appearing on a pioneer post card (fig. 10)²⁵ sold in Ogden, this picture was also reproduced on various cards distributed by H. H. Tammon of Denver.²⁶

²⁵The expression "pioneer post card" refers to post cards printed during the 1890s.

²⁶Including #219, entitled "A Young Warrior," and #814, "I want to bring my clothes back home."

Fig. 10. Private mailing card reproduces photograph by Frank Savage of Ogden.



In the decades before 1920 there were also many post cards that had a quasi-private status. These views were produced by studio photographers for sale to local audiences. Before cameras became a mass consumption item, and before photographs were commonly reproduced in newspapers and magazines, the post card was the primary medium on which pictures of local interest were printed. In Utah, as elsewhere, local studio photographers earned part of their living through the sale of pictures showing people, events, and places in their own and neighboring communities. Most of these pictures were issued in small numbers on post cards and printed on photo-stock. Where there was a large demand for a particular view, however, the photographer or another local retailer (e.g., druggist or variety store owner) would contract with a national post card manufacturer to have the picture reproduced in large quantities through a process known as lithography.

In the areas where Utah Indians lived and traveled, they were included among the wide variety of pictures that studio photographers sold to local audiences. As in the privately used post cards of the era, Indian people were pictured in an ordinary way — in the places where they commonly resided and visited, in the dress they customarily wore, and in poses that were candid and unassuming. When written messages on these post cards refer to the Indian subjects pictured they reveal that the person sending the card either knew the subjects personally or knew from direct experience something about them. The Indian people on these locally produced cards were not strangers, they were persons with whom the observer had an immediate and concrete connection.

Fig. 11. Post card distributed by E. F. Mische of Milford, Utah, was printed by American News Company of New York ca. 1910.



Fig. 11 provides an example of this type of post card. If this card exhibits a stereotype, it is the widely held idea (especially common during the early twentieth century) that Indian people live to an exceptionally old age. In other respects, however, the picture is quite ordinary. It was taken in a studio with a background prop typical in the era. The man pictured is wearing his everyday clothing, and he is posed in a very candid and unpretentious manner.

Most of the post cards produced with Southern Paiute, Gosiute,²⁷ and Western Shoshone subjects were either private or issued primarily for local consumption. When local types of post cards declined after 1920,²⁸ post card pictures of these three groups also dwindled. Utes and Navajos, in contrast, have continued to appear on post cards until modern times. Not only were these two groups pictured on a wide variety of cards made for local audiences before 1920, but they were also seen on other types of post cards, including those published for national audiences and for tourists.

National Consumers

Very different from the cards created for local audiences were those produced by major publishing firms and destined for national as well as international consumption. During the first two decades of this century, post card publishers in Europe and in the urban centers of the United States produced sets and series of cards on a wide variety of different subjects, including state capitals, wildlife, royalty, presidents, and American Indians. Although some of these post card sets were sold in tourist areas in the West, the vast majority were distributed through mail order catalogues and retail outlets in cities and towns throughout the United States as well as Europe. During a time when photographs were not widely reproduced in other media, the post card and its predecessor, the stereoview, were the major media through which the public gained its visual image of people and scenes in distant and unfamiliar places.²⁹

The pictures of American Indians that appeared in these sets appealed to a general consumer audience. Most of the pictures were

²⁷ We have never seen an actual post card with a Gosiute subject, but we assume that, at least, privately used photographs of this group were printed on post cards.

²⁸ Cf. Patricia Albers and William James, "The Dominance of Plains Indian Imagery in the Picture Post Card," *Essays in Honor of John Ewers* (Cody, Wyoming: Museum of the Plains Indian, in press), for a more detailed discussion of the history of changing post card functions.

²⁹ See George and Dorothy Miller's book, *Picture Post Cards in the United States, 1893-1918* (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., 1976), for a general overview of the historical role of the picture post card.



Fig. 12. Carson-Harper post card of Colorow, ca. 1901, reproduces a painted rendition of a photograph taken in the late nineteenth century by an unknown photographer. This post card of the Ute leader is one of several in a set called the "Rocky Mt. Series." Note written message on front of card.

portraits of Indian men who conformed to the popular image of the Indian as a "chief" or "warrior." The Ute Indians of Utah and Colorado were well represented in these early sets and series. Portrait pictures of Utes dominate some of the earliest post cards ever produced, including the work of the Denver publishers, Carson-Harper Company (see fig. 12), Buedingen Art Company, H. H. Tammon, and Williamson-Haffner. Ute portraits also appear on post cards published by the E. C. Kropp Company of Milwaukee, the Edward H. Mitchell Company of San Francisco, the Illustrated Post Card Company of New York, the Detroit Photostint Company of Detroit, and the Rotograph Company of New York. All told, there were well over a hundred different post cards with Ute subjects in various nationally produced sets and series. Most of the Ute pictures appearing on these post cards were taken in the late nineteenth century by studio photographers either in Washington, D.C., or Denver.

But why were portrait photographs of Utes included in the popular card sets and series of the early twentieth century? Many of the forces and events that catapulted the figure of the Plains Indian into the national limelight also influenced the early appearance of

Ute Indians on picture post cards.³⁰ First, and most important, the Utes lived a life and dressed in a fashion that conformed to the popular image of the Indian as a Plains Indian. Second, the Utes were known to the American public. It is important to remember that when post cards were first issued, Anglo-Americans were removed by only a few decades from their hostilities with the Utes.

Another question that must be asked is why the preponderance of portraiture in the post cards that depict Utes? A significant characteristic of portraiture is that it places its subjects in pictures devoid of historical content. When a historical context is lacking, as provided by scenes of people engaged in activity or surrounded by features of their material environment, it is possible to remove a picture's subject from an authentic setting and place it in a situation where it does not belong. In other words, it becomes easy to project fantasized meanings onto pictures that have no basis in the lived, historical realities of the picture's principal subjects. In the case of pictures of Utes, historical authenticity was largely irrelevant. What mattered was the "artistic" illusion of the Ute as the "noble" savage. Standing stately before the camera, the Ute conveyed a picture of dignity and pride. He was the noble foe, the vanquished but valiant warrior. His romanticized life of equestrian buffalo-hunting and raiding could live on forever in the public imagination. No matter that the way of life he symbolized had been destroyed, and no matter that the people he represented lived in poverty and despair on reservations. By glorifying the Utes, who after all were a critical obstacle in the way of American expansion, the public ennobled itself and its fight against the Indian. And notwithstanding the fact that the Utes were stereotyped as wild and degraded savages when fighting was taking place with the whites, they were ultimately accorded a romantic place in America's mythical history. Along with other Indians who conformed to the Plains Indian model, the Utes came to symbolize the courageous and cunning foe who challenged the Anglo-American warrior. This image of the noble and spirited warrior became the national symbol of the American Indian, and it gained widespread appeal on the picture post card.

In this light, it is significant to point out that other Utah Indians were not as frequently represented in national post card sets and

³⁰ For a more in-depth discussion of this issue cf. Patricia Albers and William James, "Post Card Images of the American Indian, the Collectible Sets of the Pre-1920 Era," *American Post Card Journal* 7 (November 1982): 17-19, and Patricia Albers, "Post Cards of the Ute," *Barr's Post Card News*, January 1980, pp. 4-6.

series. A few pictures of Navajo and Southern Paiute women and children appear in the ethnographically oriented sets by the Williamson-Haffner Company of Denver, the Selige Company of St. Louis, and the internationally renowned firm of Tuck and Sons in London, England. These sets, however, were never as popular or as widely distributed as those representing Indian people in a Plains Indian image.

Regional Tourists

During the period when post card sets of American Indians were being distributed nationwide, there was also an enormous output of post cards aimed at local and regional tourist markets. In Utah and the greater Southwest, local Indians were a popular subject in post cards sold at curio shops, resort hotels, scenic attractions, and train stations along the routes of the transcontinental railways. Fred Harvey, who was the major concessionaire in the Southwest for the Santa Fe Railway, distributed hundreds of different Indian post cards. Railway companies like the Union Pacific issued post cards to give to passengers en route to destinations in the West, and some of these included pictures of western Indians.

All of the Indian groups in Utah, with the possible exception of the Western Shoshones and Gosiutes, were represented on post cards that were produced primarily for tourists. The Nevada relatives of Utah's Southern Paiutes were seen on a few cards distributed by the Union Pacific and other railways. The Utes appeared not only on the national sets, which were sold locally in tourist outlets, but they were also seen on a small number of cards issued by regional and local distributors of souvenirs and novelties. The Navajos, however, were the ones who received the greatest coverage in the early tourist-oriented post cards. Besides appearing on cards sold under the Fred Harvey name, they were well represented in the regional card selections of H. H. Tammon, Williamson-Haffner, and Curteich of Chicago.

The popularity of Navajos in the tourist-oriented post cards of the pre-1920 era was clearly a function of their distinctive way of life. In this period of history, as today, a major feature of tourism was sightseeing, journeying to worlds apart from the common and everyday aspects of life. What could have been more distant and removed from the life of the early middle- and upper-class traveler than the cultures of southwestern Indian groups like the Navajos,

who dressed in traditional costumes, lived in hogans, and created exotic crafts. It was the Navajos' unique culture, and that of their pueblo-dwelling neighbors, that served as a major attraction for the promotion and expansion of tourism in the Southwest. The Fred Harvey Company, for example, organized special tours to Indian communities, known as "Indian Detours." These trips, which were expensive and confined largely to upper-class easterners, brought tourists to a wide variety of Indian communities to witness ceremonies, to watch native craftspeople at work, and, more generally, to take in the ambience of life in what was advertised as an "enchanted" and "picturesque" world.³¹

The Navajos most often pictured in the early tourist-oriented cards were from Arizona and New Mexico. Utah's Navajos, in contrast, were not as readily seen by outsiders. Removed and isolated from the major tourist areas reached by the railway, these Navajos were rarely subjects on the early post cards sold to tourists. It was not until the years after 1920, when automobile tourism emerged and when roads were open in the Four Corners region, that Utah Navajos became a popular post card subject. In fact, by the mid-1960s, Navajos living in the Monument Valley area of Utah and Arizona had become the most frequently photographed Indian group on picture post cards.

But if the appearance of Utah Navajos on post cards rose steadily in the years after 1920, post card pictures of other Utah Indians declined dramatically. The Southern Paiutes of Utah, Arizona, and Nevada were rarely seen on post cards for tourists, and after 1950 their pictures were virtually absent from this medium. The Utes continued to appear on post cards but only on a small number of views. Most of these pictures were sold in areas around their reservation settlements. Today, no more than five different pictures of Utes are seen on post card racks in Vernal and Roosevelt; and with the exception of one picture, all of the cards are reproductions of photographs taken in the late 1950s.

Why, with the exception of the Navajos, did post card pictures of Utah's Indians dwindle? Probably one of the most important factors was the changing function of the post card itself. After 1920 the use of post cards as private mementos of local people, scenes, and events disappeared rapidly. Also in decline was the national publi-

³¹ Cf. D. H. Thomas, *The Southwestern Indian Detours* (Phoenix: Hunter Publishing Company, 1978).

cation of topically oriented sets and series, including those that depicted American Indians. The two major types of post cards on which Utah's Indians had regularly appeared were no longer present. Increasingly, post cards functioned only as souvenirs for tourists. When this happened, the Indian groups who were not a focal point of regional tourism and its promotion gradually vanished from the picture post card. Only Indian peoples such as the Navajos, whose unique life-styles could be exploited to attract exotic tourist interests, remained an important subject in this medium.

Yet, as indicated before, the pictures of the Navajos that have become so popular on post cards represent only restricted aspects of Navajo life in modern times. What is emphasized in these post cards is the hogan, not government tract housing, people in traditional garb, not Anglo-style clothing, and individuals posed in the scenic beauty of Canyon de Chelly, not workers in the coal fields of Black Mesa. In short, there is a major discrepancy in what the tourist sees on post cards and what the life of most Navajos is like.³²

Modern tourism and the visual images that represent it seek to subvert real experience by making secular myths appear "real."³³ In the case of Utah's Indians, their place in tourism has been "real" only when their actual conditions and struggles have been hidden and when their past has been transformed into a curiosity — a relic. But when Indian people and their cultures are fetishized, they become subject to the meanings and manipulations of alien interests — those of tourists searching for romantic and spurious links with the symbolic Indian and those of entrepreneurs looking for ways to profit from the public's enchantment with the Indian myth.

CONCLUSIONS

When the totality of post card pictures of Utah Indians is examined, one cannot help but recognize the diversity of Indian images that have appeared on this medium. Some post cards, especially those produced for local audiences in the early twentieth century, illuminated Indian life as it was lived and experienced. The vast majority of cards, however, have promoted illusions of Indian life in

³² This situation can be compared with what has happened to post card images of Indian people in the Great Lakes region; cf. Patricia Albers and William James, "Tourism and the Changing Photographic Image of the Great Lakes Indian," *Annals of Tourism Research* 10 (1983): 123-48.

³³ Cf. Nelson Graburn, "Tourism: The Sacred Journey," *Hosts and Guests*, ed. Valene Smith (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), pp. 17-31; and D. MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Schocken Books, 1976).

the twentieth century. In the post cards produced for national audiences and tourists, the illusion of the Indian has come to represent the "reality" for vast numbers of Americans. Little wonder, then, that tourists become disappointed when they travel to the West and find that the Indian people seen in tourist brochures, posters, and post cards are not the same as those seen on the streets of places like Vernal and Cedar City, Utah.

One consequence of viewing Indian people in terms of their post card image is that they are perceived as no longer "Indian." Instead, many Americans believe that Indians are a dead chapter in American history; they are vanishing, if not vanished, relics of an earlier era. Such stereotypical thinking, of course, obscures any real understanding of either the historical or contemporary conditions and struggles of American Indian people living in Utah and elsewhere in the western United States.



Book Reviews

After 150 Years: The Latter-day Saints in Sesquicentennial Perspective. By THOMAS G. ALEXANDER and JESSIE L. EMBRY. ([Provo, UT]: Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, 1983. viii + 207 pp. \$6.95.)

A collection of essays about Mormonism, this work is distinguished as much by the omission of compositions on subjects relevant to the Latter-day Saint sesquicentennial as by those topics that are included. This observation may mean only that the editors' space limitations precluded tackling additional themes such as equal rights, changes in church traditions, implications of the upcoming succession in the church presidency, priesthood for the blacks, Mormon materialism as evidenced by the proliferation of Utah-based scams, church intrusion into secular affairs, the church educational system, and the church as a corporate entity. Editors Alexander and Embry do not set out any obvious principles governing their delimitations for this work. Essays in this thirteenth monograph from the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies are tied together by form and content: they are personal discourses that deal with Mormon social and political adjustment over the past 150 years.

What pervades these expositions and further unifies them is a sense of optimism concerning the church's future in terms of continued success through head count, aggrandizement in wealth and power, intellectual strength, administrative efficiency, and devout conformity. The church will continue to roll forward whether by computer, missionary conversions, Mormon imaginative literature, or

sophisticated development in learning and transmitting the significance of its own history. This is a cozy in-house consequential view. Four of the six authors teach at the church university, Brigham Young (where the Redd Center is located), and one at the University of Utah. One contributor is a non-Mormon.

I find all the essays rather stimulating. Naturally, some notions are personally more intriguing to me than others. (I might add that all the ideas are accessible to the recreational reader.) I shall lay out only three of several concepts. Jan Shipps, the non-Mormon professor, asserts that Mormons do not yet have a handle on reality concerning the past of their own church. Joseph Smith said that no man knew his history; her idea is that Mormons may not yet know his or theirs. For instance, Latter-day Saints need more historiography: knowing the events surrounding the transitional time of the Manifesto period is one example. There is a lot of Mormon history but not enough agreement among historians. Two such literati as Mark Leone (*Roots of Modern Mormonism*) and Klaus Hansen (*Mormonism and the American Experience*) agree about the general thesis, which is also Shipps's, that Mormonism has survived and prospered because of the leadership ability to remodel the church politically, socially, economically, and even doctrinally. Yet, for Shipps, these authors and others do

not agree sufficiently about the details of the Mormon past. Even though her solution to this problem may not be acceptable to every historian, it ought to be read. Incidentally, Professor Shipps's panacea does not mention the coherence truth-theory as a continuing means for getting at a definitive historical picture.

Eugene England's thesis in his description of the Mormon attempt to make critically acceptable creative literature is that the ideal form is the personal essay, and the content, however inventive it may be, should be riveted to orthodox Mormon practice and dogma. England labors over the notion that the Mormon writer can be as conventionally Mormon as Flannery O'Connor was conventionally Catholic. (I was not much interested in the doctrine of the hypostatic union in her "A Good Man Is Hard to Find"; however, I never will forget her representation of the Misfit. But I will agree that the doctrine of the hypostatic union is part of the Misfit's character.) If England's Mormon author fails to attract a vast audience, the Mormon reading public alone must suffice. Why? Because he must remain a true follower of Christ while writing of Mormon traditions, practices, and spiritual experiences in a most believing way without being obtrusively didactic in the telling — whether it be in poetry, drama, the short story, the novel, or the essay. He should tailor his writing so it conforms to church doctrine. It is indeed possible to practice "relating scholarship and artistic achievement to moral character or religious faith — of connecting truth and goodness to beauty." In short, England says the great Mormon creative writers living or to be born will succeed by virtue of their Mormon virtues and not by their vices.

Assumed vaunted success in literature and technology may be coeval. The church, says James Allen, is con-

tinually adapting technological advances to an extent that might alarm some church members; however, the organization is business-oriented anyhow, so accepting most any technology as a tool for bringing about desired change may never be insuperable: really, Mormon leadership has followed the western world into the postindustrial age. Allen's idea clearly is that the church will accommodate to any technology it can exploit successfully.

Mormons are marrying technology and religion as the *sine qua non* for continued pragmatic success. Indeed, this marriage has been consummated in some respects: in the building program; communications; the financial department; missionary calls; the automated donations system; the membership department. Are Mormons prepared to accept such unsentimental efficiency (admittedly not yet integrated into one overall plan to "develop a theory of systematic technological planning for the entire church")? More: will the church membership adapt to genetic engineering? Clearly, given the church's history of expedient modification as viewed throughout these essays, I have to answer yes, although such yea-saying by the membership may be disconcertingly cultish.

The pleasure of reading these commentaries is dulled by a slight uneasiness: I think my difficulty lies in attempting to reconcile conflicting images of sentimentally idyllic and rural Mormonism, so very well-remembered by Edward Geary in this volume, with the intensity of single-minded Mormons bent on filling the whole earth by using divers means to reach that end. Please let the end never justify the measures; or, God does not design microchips.

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J. Reuben Clark: The Church Years. By D. MICHAEL QUINN. (Provo, Ut.: Brigham Young University Press, 1983. xvi + 334 pp. \$9.95.)

This book is the second of a two-volume series dealing with the life of J. Reuben Clark. The first, *J. Reuben Clark: The Public Years*, was authored by Frank Fox. This monograph deals with Clark's involvement with the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, with particular emphasis on the years from 1933 to 1961 when he served as a counselor to Heber J. Grant, George Albert Smith, and David O. McKay. This twenty-eight-year period of time as a counselor in the First Presidency of the Mormon church was the longest that any counselor has ever served in that capacity. The book is divided into two parts. The first deals chronologically with Clark's church service, while the second half of the volume has eight topical chapters serving to elaborate on several aspects of Clark's service.

Quinn has done extensive research for this volume and yet readily admits that the minutes of the First Presidency were not available for his use.

Therefore, the present biography of President Clark's Church service had to rely on the scattered and incomplete references to his decision-making function found in such documents as his personal papers and those of his associates. Source availability determined the depth and breadth of the biography (p. xiv).

The book is not without its frankness and its bias, both from Clark and from Quinn. Quinn writes as a historian and as a believing Latter-day Saint, noting his belief in divine inspiration of church leaders who are "mortal men with men's infirmities."

Although born in Grantsville and spending his college days at the University of Utah where he graduated as valedictorian in 1898, J. Reuben

Clark, Jr., spent most of his adult life prior to his calling into the First Presidency outside the state of Utah. His involvement with the church was often limited by geography and by his own choice. He noted that the payment of tithing was a real struggle and that the bad feelings he harbored toward Sen. Reed Smoot were based on other than church activities, but they affected his church activity in the Washington, D.C., area. Quinn notes Clark's strict observance of the Word of Wisdom requirement during the first decade of the twentieth century although the general church practice was still in a transitional phase. Clark was involved in deep religious thought and study during this period of his life and moved away from a strict adherence to facts to a faith-oriented religious philosophy.

Clark's calling to the First Presidency in 1933 when he was sixty-one years old was unusual. Heber J. Grant had to reach beyond the normal circle of church authorities, and so he called Clark as his counselor in that year and as an apostle in 1934. Clark's philosophy as counselor was

When we were discussing some subject the President would turn to each of us and say, "What do you think about this?" or "What is your opinion?" When he asked me I gave it to him straight from the shoulder, as forthrightly as I knew how, even though my opinion was sometimes contrary to his. Then there was the business of resolving our different points of view. But when the President of the Church finally [*sic*] declared, "Brethren, I feel that this should be our decision," President Clark said, "That was the Prophet speaking, and I stopped counseling and accepted without question the decision that he thus announced" (p. 290).

Quinn notes that Clark was always a strong counselor but never the "power behind the throne." It is in the area of First Presidency discussions and decisions that the records of the First Presidency would have been helpful in fleshing out the historical J. Reuben Clark.

Prior to his participation in the First Presidency and particularly relating to the political activity of Reed Smoot (both an apostle and a U.S. senator), Clark had strongly opposed political involvement by church leaders. Yet he found it very difficult to remain uninvolved and silent on political questions, including his antagonism to New Deal policies. His own involvement in the Republican party had been such that he was often suggested as a candidate for senator or governor, and such suggestions were often hard for him to resist. During his years in the First Presidency he served actively in a wide variety of non-church positions and on a number of non-church boards. Clark regularized administrative practices for the First Presidency. Quinn notes his difficulties in dealing with aging church presidents, his differences of philosophy with other church leaders, and the human problems of family members of church

leaders which Clark dealt with. Some of his strong feelings about church practices did not come to fruition until after his death and the movement into the decision-making role of some of his "protégés," including Harold B. Lee and Spencer W. Kimball.

Quinn suggests that although Clark was a counselor he advocated a number of innovations that became church practices, including the centrally directed church welfare plan, reorganization of church finances, establishment of assistants to the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, establishment of regional priesthood leadership, closed-circuit media broadcasts of general conferences to outlying church wards and stakes, simultaneous translation of general conferences into the languages of non-English speakers, and construction of multi-ward buildings. Certainly Clark was in the forefront of these innovations, but again without complete documentation of the church decision-making processes, we are left in the dark as to Clark's actual and total role in these decisions.

RICHARD W. SADLER
Weber State College

The Making of a Ranger: Forty Years with the National Parks. By LEMUEL A. GARRISON. (Salt Lake City: Howe Brothers and the Institute of the American West, Sun Valley, 1983. x + 310 pp. Cloth, \$19.95; paper, \$10.95.)

Reading this autobiography is like experiencing a great symphony, or hearing a stirring sermon on the "Divine Land Ethic," or listening to Lon Garrison at a campfire relate the history of America's scenic wonderlands, interspersed with personal comments on his family and the National Park family:

... At daybreak Frank [Barry] and I walked in about 100 yards [off Yellowstone Lake]. We were in a

completely hushed and primitive environment. There was nothing to indicate that man had ever stood here before — no ax marks, no footprints, just a quiet, deep spongy moss. We sat on a moss-draped log and conversed in whispers.

I thought of John Muir's great dream: "Let nature's stillness and peace flow into you. . . ." It was humbling. We could hear the silence.

As we returned to the dinghy we found on the wave-washed beach the memorabilia of the boater and the fisherman — the indestructible bits of nylon line, a wad of tin foil, bits of paper and plastic and a tin can. The moment of tranquility was lost.

Before he went to Texas A & M University to lecture on outdoor lore and law, Lemuel A. Garrison had held thirteen different positions with the National Park Service. This Nebraska native who grew up at Caldwell, Idaho, began his career as a firefighter in Alaska with the U.S. Forest Service, was a "seasonal" at Sequoia National Park, and served as a ranger at Yosemite, chief ranger at Washington, D.C., and as superintendent or assistant at Glacier in Montana, Grand Canyon in Arizona, and Yellowstone in Wyoming-Montana. He was also regional director of the NPS at Omaha and Philadelphia, national chief of conservation and protection, and "helmsman" for the Mission 66 program that enriched the then failing national park system. He was head man at Hopewell Village in Pennsylvania and Big Bend in Texas, and he directed the NPS Ranger Training Academy.

Garrison gained wide acquaintance and devotees in Utah during his tenure at Yellowstone (where he won a notable fight in 1961 to zone Yel-

lowstone Lake for motorboats) and maybe at Grand Canyon and Omaha. This ex-Salt Lake editorial writer thinks of Garrison in retrospect as always being persuasively present when national park problems were at serious issue. He undoubtedly remains the best known NPS official, with the possible exception of the late Bates Wilson of Canyonlands. Unlike many NPS officials, Lon Garrison made it his special project to win friends and influence people in neighboring communities and states — wherever he could find them. He made anyone he could reach feel that he or she was important to the national parks.

Lon Garrison's wife, Inger, who must have suffered during those fourteen changes of residence, emerges as a heroine of Garrison's personal life and professional career. She did ceramics work wherever they lived and could set up her equipment. A daughter, Karen, and son, Lars, who is engaged in international energy sales, emerge as flesh-and-blood individuals. And the death of another son in a ski tow accident is described with devastating depth of feeling.

Garrison's descriptions of natural phenomena are as memorable as those of what man is doing to nature's jewels.

ERNEST H. LINFORD
Laramie, Wyoming

Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870. By SYLVIA VAN KIRK.
(Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983. 301 pp. \$21.50.)

A good history text is a book that gives its reader new information, new interpretations, and new insights into the subject matter it presents. A very good text includes these same ingredients but, in addition, creates a tension of thought, a spirit of excitement that comes when a reader's imagina-

tion is stimulated to the point that it jumps beyond the printed page and roams into new questions and speculations never before conceived. An excellent text is all of the above but is written in a style so well constructed and with words so carefully selected that the printed language itself takes

on an aura of beauty and life.

Sylvia Van Kirk's first work on the women of the early fur-trade era in Canada is a very good text and one that will be considered in all bibliographies of fur-trade history for generations to come. Through meticulous research and careful scholarship, this social historian has reintroduced us to a period of fur-trade history but from a totally new and engaging perspective — that of the women involved.

Beginning with the founding of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670 and continuing through the end of the old fur-trade order with the transfer of Rupert's Land to Canada in 1870, Van Kirk constructs an excellent picture of the lives, roles, and problems of women of the time. She points out that in the beginning the two major fur companies established definite but different policies for the governance of their employees' private lives. The Hudson's Bay Company, ruled directly from England, had the most unrealistic policy referred to as a "military monasticism." All employees were subjected to the strictest discipline and were required to live "virtuous, celibate lives, performing religious observances and eschewing drinking and gambling." The enforcement of such rules, however, relied upon the power and desire of the enforcing officer and the geographic distance between the trader and the company post. Obviously, it was not long until modifications began to take place. The North West Company, on the other hand, was far more realistic in its approach, even advocating the formation of liaisons between its employees and the native women. The officers recognized that Indian mates for their traders opened doors for commerce with the natives and that the knowledge of Indian life and customs gained through such experience could only benefit the company.

The role of an Indian woman who left her tribe to live with a trader was far from insignificant; fur trade would not have been nearly as successful if there had been no miscegenation. The work women did in making clothes, snowshoes, preparing food, and even trapping saved traders a great amount of time, allowing them to proceed directly with their work. At the same time, these Indian women should not be viewed just as sexually exploited servants. According to Van Kirk, the women actually benefited the most. Once an Indian married a trader her status within her own tribe increased. If, for whatever reason, she did return, she was highly respected and could easily find an Indian mate. With the white man, she gained access to many great conveniences of the industrialized world. Those that made her life much easier included metal cooking pans, matches, cloth, steel tools, and cabins. Although many of the Indian woman's duties were similar to those of her peers who stayed with the tribe, they were now more easily performed. Also, if she could learn the traders' language, she often acted as an interpreter, and many women thus rose to positions of great influence. If a "turning off" (ending of a relationship when the trader returned to Europe) did occur, most white husbands found their women a substitute mate to take their place. Some even provided annuities through the fur company for the women's continued support.

Van Kirk's work can be considered quite remarkable when one realizes the handicap of having to depict accurately the women's environment and social structure while being restricted to sources consisting primarily of men's correspondence, reports, wills, and journals. This is especially true in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In later generations, when more mixed-blood women began to

obtain formal education, she was able to supplement her research with some of their personal correspondence. For this reason, relationships of women to one another are only hinted at until the end of the book.

White women did not come into western Canada until the nineteenth century. With their arrival, Indian and mixed-blood wives found the social positions they had struggled to attain gravely threatened. Ironically, it was the European woman far more than any other force that created racism and class consciousness. Perhaps it was because the white women were threatened by the adaptability of their native counterparts and the fact that native women, more acculturated to the environment, proved to be more of an asset to traders. There was serious competition for marriageable males, but Victorian traditions and the growing white female population slowly began to dominate.

The author lists numerous examples and accounts of specific individuals to prove each of her basic theses. Perhaps herein lies the one weakness of the book: it does tend to become a bit repetitive. (This is also partially due to the fact that it was originally written as a dissertation. Where one or two examples usually suffice to establish a point in a book for the public, a dissertation has the tendency to include several examples no matter how detailed.) This one criticism is minor

and should not affect any but the most cursory readers. While annoying to some, it also has a positive effect for it helps the author avoid the melodramatic and sentimental descriptions that often occur when too much time is given to only a few characters.

This woman's perspective of the fur-trade is unique and necessary. Excellent as both economic and social history, it raises numerous unanswered questions. What about women in the American fur trade compared to their Canadian counterparts? Were their relationships, conditions, and social structures similar? Did American trappers take a more cavalier attitude toward Indian women than their British and French cousins? Was the chivalry of American mountain men a derivative of the British example or was it an extension of the American colonial version? etc. With this work Van Kirk creates many more questions than she answers. It should keep scholars working on new projects for some years to come. Most certainly it indicates that man works harder and succeeds far better when supported by a wife and family regardless of the hardships and environment involved. The Canadian fur trade would certainly have progressed at a much slower rate had it not been for its "many tender ties."

DELMONT R. OSWALD

Utah Endowment for the Humanities

Historians and the American West. Edited by MICHAEL P. MALONE. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983. xii + 449 pp. \$24.95.)

In the past twenty years a revolution has swept through American scholarship, replacing more traditional diplomatic and political issues with new social, ethnic, and economic concerns. Even the most cursory comparison of today's professional journals with those of the 1960s and 1970s clearly illustrates the changing inter-

ests of American historians. Perhaps no other area of scholarly endeavor has changed as much as the field of American western history. One generation ago the American West was at the center of popular culture; films, books, and television programs worshipped the frontier, transforming Frederick Jackson Turner's thesis into

a national cult of individualism and democracy. The American West was a fitting altar for a society still interested in hero worship. But just as the sagebrush sets of the 1950s have given way to the high-tech imagination of *Star Wars* and *E.T.*, the older questions and adulation of the frontier, mountain men, or environmental determinism have receded into the past. A new generation of historians is now asking new sets of questions about the American West. Michael P. Malone's *Historians and the American West* provides an excellent survey of this remarkable scholarly transformation.

Written by today's most notable western historians, the essays in *Historians and the American West* carefully and comprehensively examine the historiography of seventeen major western history topics. A few of them — Gordon B. Dodd's essay on the fur trade, W. Turrentine Jackson's on transportation, Dennis Burger's on Manifest Destiny, and Kenneth Owens's on government and politics in the nineteenth century — focus on the historiography of traditional themes and some of the classic works in western history. Herbert T. Hoover's and Robert C. Carriker's essays on American Indian historiography both demonstrate the failure of ethnographers and historians to cross disciplinary lines and the superiority of public policy studies in the field. Other western "minority groups" are handled in Sandra Myres's article on women in the West, Thomas Alexander's excellent piece on Mormon historiography, and Frederick Leubke's superb analysis of the literature on

immigration and ethnicity in the trans-Mississippi West. Donald Cutter's essay on the Spanish borderlands adequately surveys the classic works of people like Herbert Bolton and Hubert Howe Bancroft, along with more recent studies of politics and settlement patterns, but curiously enough neglects the recent monographs on Mexican American history. Several essays focus on economic concerns in the West — Gilbert C. Fite on the historiography of farming and ranching, William Lang on economics and the environment, and Clark Spence on the mining frontier. Finally, four historians have provided first-rate studies of relatively new historical fields. Richard M. Brown's article on the historiography of violence in the West is excellent, as is Richard Etulain's on cultural history. F. Alan Coombs and Bradford Luckingham have written on still virgin fields — the urban history of the West and the twentieth-century West.

Michael P. Malone and the University of Nebraska Press deserve a good deal of credit for bringing out such an excellent work. For every scholar and graduate working in the area of western history, the book is a must, one which will be referred to again and again. For anyone else interested in beginning a study of the American West or researching a particular topic in the field, *Historians and the American West* will be the place to start.

JAMES S. OLSON

Sam Houston State University
Huntsville, Texas

The Rocky Mountains: A Vision for Artists in the Nineteenth Century. By PATRICIA TRENTON and PETER H. HASSRICK. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press in association with the Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody, Wyoming, 1983. xii + 418 pp. \$65.00.)

First impressions are rather sensual. The book has a substantive heft

to it, and the jacket a pleasing warm design centered on a grand Bierstadt

mountainscape. Thumbing it, one feels a nice coated paper with opacity enough, and the scattered color plates draw the eye. The extensive and readable notes and bibliography suggest that here indeed is a valuable reference work. First impressions are deceptive in both a positive and negative way.

Justice is not done the greatest strength of the book — the text — by first impressions. The authors formed a fortunate collaboration, and the deft stroke of the editor's hand was felt in blending the two minds and styles. The acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, and index indicate a long-time search through many sources and encompassing two graduate school projects and beyond. The result is a chronological move through a fascinating spectrum of painters and sketchers, both prominent and obscure. Each chapter is a delightful journey, readable and facilely designed to grip a range of readers.

Alas, in most of life's endeavors we fall short of perfection. Beyond a little "ghost" type (pp. 68, 81, 308, 321) and a negative scratch (p. 415), there looms a pervasive flaw. The black-and-white halftone reproductions are dismal, weak and flat on the page. Even the lithographs and engravings, with contrast built into the medium, are unacceptable. This is most disappointing in a book of this scope, intent, and format, and ironic in a book so freely discussing means of representation of art and the interpretation of engravers.

The color plates are much better but still suspect because of a few examples this writer is familiar with. The most glaring is Bierstadt's *Sunset Light, Wind River Range of the Rocky Mountains*. The color separator must have read the title, for the color shift is extreme and the reproduction totally unrepresentative. The interesting brown and red points of detail are

obscured, and the subtle greens in meadow and mountain, the blues in sky and water are totally eliminated. While color is a subjective matter in any reproduction (or original), this version bathes the entire work in orange and turns it from a Bierstadt to some copy photographer's false color interpretation. (For comparison, see pp. 28–29 in the August 1982 *Ensign*. The designer vividly recalls having trouble separating the 4 x 5 transparency he had shot by the same source this book credits.) One needs to see original works to make a final determination.

Following is a sampling from many pleasures and a few gentle criticisms. "Art" remains a generally neglected source of insight for historical interpretation and change in the physical and cultural landscape. This book can serve as an inspiration in that direction.

It is refreshing to see a pair of maps in the early pages and references to Fenneman and Atwood in defining geographical bounds of the Rockies (C. B. Hunt and others are more current and specific). The recent Fuller map is a nice gesture but more decorative than useful. It is impossible to trace even the major surveys mentioned in the text with it, let alone routes of some of the major artists. The significant influence of Alexander von Humboldt, the great precursor of the eclectic synthesizer and interpreter of phenomena in space — the geographer — is noted. His successors would like to see some cartographic interpretation of the text.

Bierstadt's "pictorial artifices" (p. 126) of a photographer's eye for light, shadow directions and qualities, and selective focus and enlargement of foreground detail are noted for their "dramatic overtones." But this viewer wonders if they don't come closer to the emotional, sensory response than do the more literal interpretations of

either medium. The question is perhaps answered in the quote (p. 143) of an 1866 *Rocky Mountain News* writer responding to an art critic: "... They never see such a combination of scenery; such clouds and storm, such lights and shadows; hence they are in doubt if such can be. ... He had better travel and learn, or else dry up."

Bayard Taylor wrote in 1867 (p. 116), "You cannot cram this scenery into the compass of a block-book. ... The eye is continually cheated, the actual being so much more than the apparent dimensions of all objects. ... Even photographs here have the same dwarfed diminished expression. I can now see how naturally Bierstadt was led to a large canvas." Impressive of most of the artists represented in this book is their attitude of exploration, their exuberance in seeing and responding in their given medium to places new to them, their tenacity under trying living and traveling conditions, and their heightened powers of observation and appreciation. May we all take a leaf from their sketch-books.

The era of the great surveys was a transitional one, and we are fortunate to have the work of painters and sketchers as well as photographers because in the following few decades halftone reproduction of continuous tone photographs became practical and commonplace in printed reports. Unfortunately, artists in nonphotographic media were soon dropped from the geologic entourage. As the involved wet-plate process was replaced with smaller cameras and emulsion-coated films, even the specialist photographer artist disappeared from the survey teams as the geologists themselves, armed with box and folding cameras, "did their own thing" with widely varying results. This development was generally regrettable in that each medium and

each artist is uniquely capable of better rendering certain features for communication. A breadth of technique was lost.

A full chapter is devoted to Thomas Moran; read and enjoy. Note that his oil, *The Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone*, 1872, is 84 x 144¼ inches. It was recently hanging at the Buffalo Bill Historical Center. Moran said of it, "I did not wish to realize the scene literally, but to preserve and convey its true impression" (p. 184). In another fascinating story, Moran's working relationship, somewhat symbiotic, with photographer Jackson is recounted. Called "basically a realist with a romantic spirit," Moran is given this sensitive tribute by the authors: "Despite his eclectic means, Moran's emotionally charged, romantic, grand mountainscapes find few competitors; in the end they even outshine their German models" (p. 205).

Utah readers should enjoy F. Piercy's 1853 study of Salt Lake City from Capitol Hill in its original pencil version! We are accustomed to seeing the engraved version from *The Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley*. While more graphic and crisp, it has lost some subtlety and added a large, dramatic but obscuring cloud shadow. A. Tissandier's work should be mentioned for its culture landscape history content. The examples are from Leadville, Colorado, and Yellowstone, but the collection is extensive and housed at the University of Utah's Museum of Fine Arts.

"The Regional Scene" (chap. 9) opens with a note that only Utah and Colorado were able to support local art communities and that "the land of Zion on Earth" experienced earlier growth and development due to its more stable population. Two important points are made regarding Utah's relative isolation. In a place so removed from nineteenth-century cosmopolitan influences in a struggling

settlement-stage economy, it was difficult for artists to come by either patronage or supplies. Ottinger noted that people admired the pictures but had no money for them!

There is mention of utility artists decorating the tabernacle and painting stage scenery for the Salt Lake Theater, but none of the temple murals—an important commission of the time. The probable influence of Moran on Culmer whom he met in 1873 in Salt Lake City is noted, but the important link of Bierstadt and Lambourne painting together is not made. Note 19 (p. 388) states that the whereabouts of Culmer's *Shoshone Falls* is unknown to the authors. It is at Brigham Young University.

The book states (p. 300) that "Mormonism was the chief factor that contributed to Utah's high standard of culture during the nineteenth century," yet the authors apparently did not examine the LDS church's extensive archives and collections for explanatory or visual material. They relied on Horne (1914) and Haseltine (1965) when Utah's universities and individuals like Wesley Burnside and Robert Olpin are obvious resources to start with. Two Utah "art" individuals are acknowledged, but neither specifically recalls contact with the authors, so it is possible their staffs handled a routine request. While one might question why a visit to Utah or a bit of telephone research at least wasn't drafted into this book's research design in light of all the effort previously expended on two graduate school studies centered on Colorado, the preceding is not an indictment of the authors but of Utahns.

Utah's art history remains unpublished if not unresearched. Utah museums have not published catalogs

or mounted traveling exhibitions. Utah scholars have not published much serious art history or criticism. And Utah archivists have for decades clipped and filed the doings of political, economic, education, and religious figures, but not Utah artists! As a result we have placed our rich art tradition in oblivion by default. Trenton and Hassrick are commended for stating "the case for including these [regional] artists in the mainstream of American landscape art, an inclusion that would give us a fuller picture of the development of the genre in this country" (p. 315).

The final chapter, "The Vanishing Scene," is another delight. As my master designer-illustrator friend says of the artists of this era: "Farney is great, even better detail than Russell," and "No one can design like Remington!" The lyrical impressionist Twachtman, using a more subtle pastel palette than his French contemporaries and at his best with more intimate landscapes, rounds out the group. They signal a change in approach and the end of this volume as nineteenth-century Romantic-Realism finds a finale in the narrative artists of the "Vanishing Scene."

So, what of *The Rocky Mountains: A Vision for Artists in the Nineteenth Century*? The authors have succeeded in meeting their goals. The text is excellent, the color plates are generally very good, and the black-and-white plates are disappointing at best. If Rocky Mountain landscape art and history are your bag, buy; because even at \$65 you'll be richly rewarded.

GARY B. PETERSON
Bountiful

Book Notices

1856 Utah Census Index: An Every-Name Index. Compiled by BRYAN LEE DILTS. (Salt Lake City: Index Publishing, 1983. xviii + 292 pp. Cloth, \$108.00; 48x diazo microfiche \$51.00.)

The 1856 territorial census was undertaken to prove that Utah's population was great enough to justify statehood. The 1850-51 census had enumerated 11,380 residents; the 1856 count came up with a startling 76,427. Creative padding techniques included the listing of deceased persons and the multiple listing of individuals: "... If a certain family had a daughter named Mary Louiza Roberts, that daughter might be listed under 1) Mary Roberts, 2) Louiza Roberts, and 3) Louiza Newel, her married name." Whether dead, alive, or cloned, every person is alphabetically listed in this index to the census along with the place of residence and microfilm frame number on which the name may be found. It will be a useful tool for researchers.

Standing Up Country: The Canyon Lands of Utah and Arizona. By C. GREGORY CRAMPTON. Reprint ed. (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books, 1983. xviii + 197 pp. Paper, \$12.75.)

One of the great canyon books is back in print. River runners, four-wheelers, and backpackers will do well to become familiar with Crampton's work, primarily in the University of Utah's Glen Canyon Series of *An-*

thropological Papers and back issues of *UHQ*. *Standing Up Country* is a good place to begin, for it is a digest of the research that went into those earlier publications, well written and attractively presented. Text and bibliography are current only to 1964, when the first edition appeared, but an expanded introduction sketches some of the important events and literature since then.

Empires in the Sun: The Rise of the New American West. By PETER WILEY and ROBERT GOTTLIEB. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1982. ix + 322 pp. \$15.95.)

Two investigative journalists look at politics and economics in the West — who has the power and how it is used in the six major power centers: Los Angeles, San Francisco, Denver, Phoenix, Salt Lake City, and Las Vegas. Although there is not much new in the story of Utah's power brokers, one is reminded again that the "inside story" of political and economic maneuverings in Utah is almost never told by journalists inside Utah.

Hanes Cymry America: A History of the Welsh in America. By R. D. THOMAS. Translated by PHILLIPS G. DAVIES. (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1983. xxi + 517 pp. Paper, \$19.75.)

This is the only translation of Thomas's 1872 volume which

explores the extent and nature of communities of Welsh in twenty-two American states. Those interested in ethnic studies, immigration, or Welsh genealogy will find it worthwhile. *Quarterly* readers will recall Professor Davies's translation of another Welsh traveler's excursion in Zion which appeared in the Fall 1981 issue.

Ethnic Genealogy: A Research Guide.

Edited by JESSIE CARNEY SMITH. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983. xxxix + 440 pp. \$37.50.)

This one-volume reference work provides the reader with research techniques, a bibliography of published and unpublished sources, descriptions of library collections, addresses of genealogical organizations and societies, and other sources and strategies essential to the successful pursuit of ethnic genealogy. It is a primary reference tool for those interested in ethnic groups whose origins have been considered difficult to trace: American Indian, Asian-American, black, and Hispanic.

Jackson Hole Journal. By NATHANIEL

BURT. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983. x + 221 pp. \$16.95

Jackson, Wyoming, like Carmel and Taos, was once a backwater town where "tourists were only a fringe nuisance . . . nearly everyone was either a friend or identifiable." Although

these towns are very different, each drew, because of its remoteness and unusual physical setting, artists, writers, and the rich who mixed with the locals. Once artists and the rich "discover" a place, the tourist and the developer are not far behind. Burt, a native of Jackson whose parents were writers from the East, gives us a personal vision of what it was like to be a part of the "in" crowd.

Quarterdeck and Saddlehorn: The Story of

Edward F. Beale, 1822-1893. By CARL BRIGGS and CLYDE FRANCIS TRUDELL. (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1983. 304 pp. \$29.50.)

Volume 20 in Arthur H. Clark's Western Frontiersmen Series examines the life of a man of diverse achievement who has been largely unrecognized — Edward Fitzgerald Beale. Among his other accomplishments, Beale forwarded the first official report of and the first sample of gold from the great California gold strike, served as the first superintendent of Indian Affairs for California and Nevada, directed the army's first and only experiment with camels, built the first all-weather wagon road to California, and served in numerous government and military posts. In addition, he accumulated a fortune in agriculture, mining and oil, and eastern business and real estate holdings. The Beale-Heap expedition across the central Rockies brought him through Utah in 1853.

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